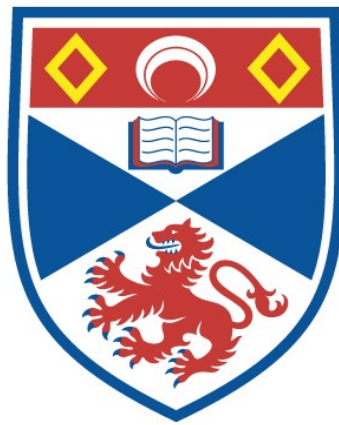


**THE COUNTS OF AUMALE AND HOLDERNESS,  
1086-1260**

Barbara English

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews



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Abstract of:

The counts of Aumale and Holderness 1086-1260

by Barbara English

submitted for the degree of Ph.D. 1977

The counts of Aumale, who held the land of Holderness for two hundred years, came into England at the end of the Conqueror's reign. They came from Aumale, in the north-eastern corner of Normandy, a small county grouped around a little town, a castle and a church. The counts lost their Norman lands in 1204, but kept their continental title until the last Aumale heiress died in 1274.

Holderness is a flat, low-lying and marshy district of eastern Yorkshire, between the River Hull and the sea. It has always been isolated from the rest of Yorkshire and England, by its river boundaries of Humber, Hull and Earl's Dyke. In the early middle ages it was of strategic importance in the struggle against Danish invasions, and the Conqueror, probably for this reason, treated Holderness as a special case, and instead of perpetuating the multiple tenancies of the Anglo-Saxon era, gave all the land there (except the church's fee) to his brother-in-law, Odo.

The isolation of the district and the consolidation of land holdings in Holderness affected its development. The area became a highly privileged lordship, with many of the powers of the greatest palatinates of England. Holderness had, for instance, a private sheriff and a private coroner, and could exclude all royal officers except the justices of the eyre. Within the liberty (as it came to be called) there developed an efficient administrative system under a number of able men.

Most of the counts' lands lay in Yorkshire. In Holderness there were only ten knights' fees, but they were of exceptionally large size, and some of the knights who in Holderness held one fee or less were elsewhere in England tenants-in-chief with many knights of their own. The revenues on which both counts and knights lived came from the work of the ordinary people in their fields and pastures, and the counts too involved themselves in agriculture and particularly in sheep-farming. They also established three towns in Holderness, but only one (Hedon) proved successful. Like most of their contemporaries, they endowed many religious houses, the largest and richest in Holderness being Cistercian Meaux, founded in 1151 by William, count of Aumale, on the site of his hunting park.



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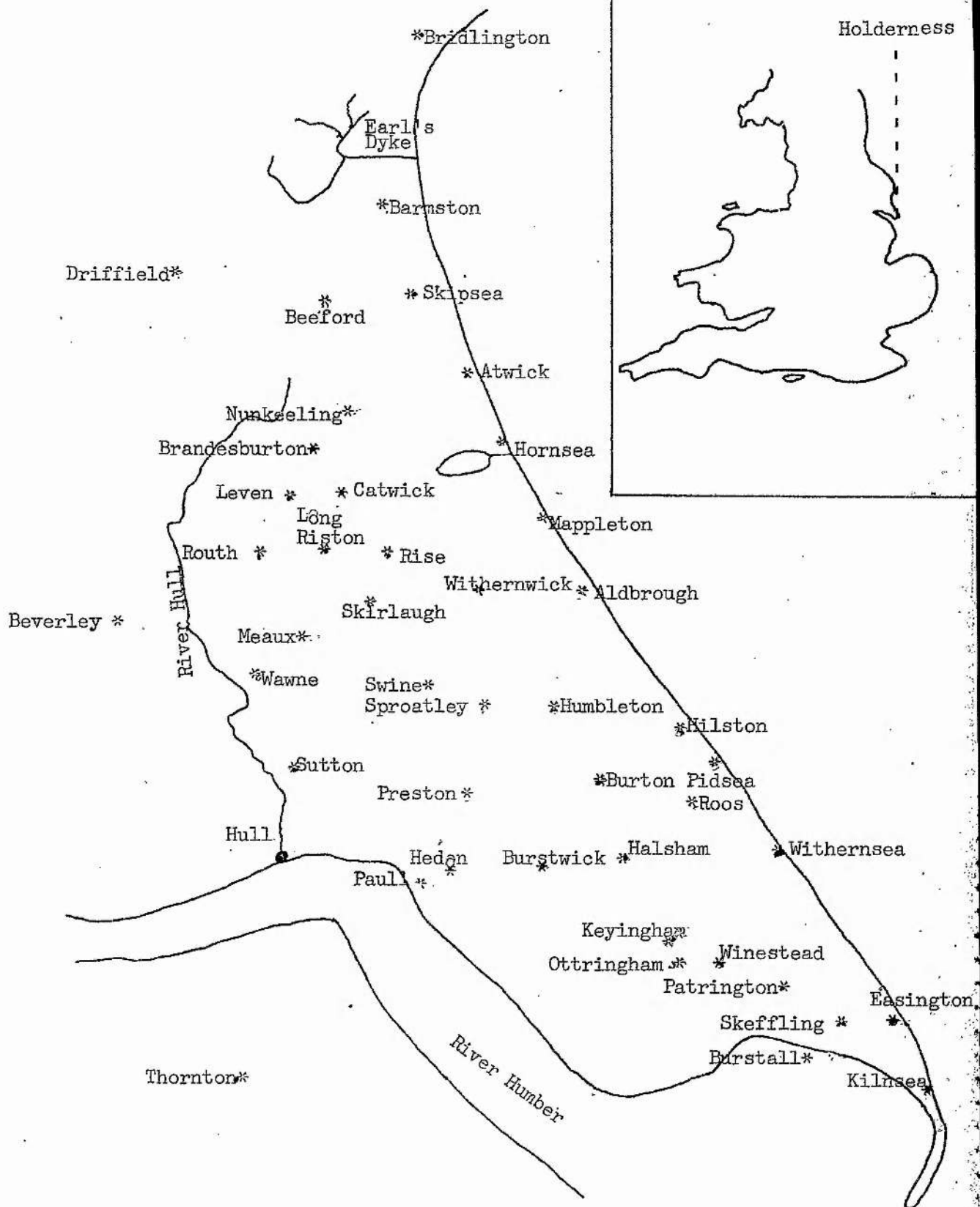
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Holderness, showing the principal places. The coastline is that of the 20th century.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

THE COUNTS OF AUMALE AND HOLDERNESS 1086-1260

being a thesis submitted for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the university of St Andrews

by

BARBARA ENGLISH, M.A. (Hons.) (St Andrews)

Volume I

1977



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#### DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis  
has been composed by me, that the work of which it is  
a record has been done by myself, and that it has not  
been accepted in any previous application for a Higher  
Degree.

*B.A. English.*

The research work for this thesis  
has been carried out in the Department of  
Medieval History, University of St. Andrews,  
under the supervision of Professor R.J. Adam,  
since the academic year 1956, when I first  
registered as a Research Student.

*B.A. English.*



# CERTIFICATE

I certify that Barbara A. English has been engaged upon research work under my supervision, that she has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance Number LXXIX (St. Andrews Number 16) and that she is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

R. J. Adam

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Dr J.K. St Joseph has supplied me with a number of aerial photographs from the Cambridge university collection, and three are reproduced here. Mr G.K. Beaulah allowed me to photograph a carved stone in his possession, which is plate 7. Other people or institutions who have kindly allowed me to reproduce photographs of documents or seals in their custody are the British library, the archives nationales in Paris, the departmental archives of Seine-Maritime at Rouen, Magdalen college Oxford and the Bodleian library, the Yorkshire archaeological society, Northampton county record office, the university of Hull and Mr John Chichester-Constable.

I have discussed problems of interpretation with many people over the years, and in particular with Mr Richard Wilson of the Open university. My family have supported me and endured my preoccupation with Holderness. Mistakes that remain are mine alone.



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MAPS

Holderness, showing principal places

Frontispiece

The administrative divisions of medieval Holderness

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List of abbreviations used in the notes

Further details of the works are given in the bibliography, pp. 485-504.

Add. MS	Additional Manuscript
Add. Ch.	Additional Charter
<u>Agric. Hist. R.</u>	<u>Agricultural History Review</u>
<u>Arch. Aeliana</u>	<u>Archaeologia Aeliana</u>
<u>A-S Chron.</u>	<u>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</u>
Assize R.	Assize Roll
Beresford and Hurst, <u>DMV</u>	Beresford and Hurst, <u>Deserted Medieval Villages</u>
<u>BIHR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</u>
BL	British Library
<u>Brid. Charty</u>	<u>Bridlington Chartulary</u>
Brooks, <u>DB and the ER</u>	Brooks, <u>Domesday Book and the East Riding</u>
<u>Cal.</u>	<u>Calendar</u>
<u>Camb. Hist. J.</u>	<u>Cambridge Historical Journal</u>
Ch.	Charter
<u>Charty</u>	<u>Chartulary</u>
<u>Cl.R.</u>	<u>Close Rolls</u>
<u>CM</u>	<u>Chronicon Monasterii de Melsa</u>
<u>Col. Top. et Gen.</u>	<u>Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica</u>
<u>CRR</u>	<u>Curia Regis Rolls</u>
Darby and Maxwell, <u>DGNE</u>	Darby and Maxwell, <u>Domesday Geography of Northern England</u>
<u>DB</u>	<u>Domesday Book</u>
D. and C. York	Dean and Chapter Library, York Minster
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
Dods. MS	Dodsworth MS
<u>Econ. J.</u>	<u>Economic Journal</u>
<u>Econ. Hist. R.</u>	<u>Economic History Review</u>
<u>ERAST</u>	<u>East Riding Antiquarian Society Transactions</u>
<u>ERRO</u>	<u>East Riding Record Office</u>
<u>EYC</u>	<u>Early Yorkshire Charters</u>
<u>EYLHS</u>	<u>East Yorkshire Local History Society</u>
Eyton, <u>Itin. Henry II</u>	Eyton, <u>Itinerary of Henry II</u>
Harl.	Harleian
Harris, <u>Open Fields</u>	Harris, <u>The Open Fields of East Yorkshire</u>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission reports
HUL	Hull University Library

HUL DDCC	Hull University Library, documents deposited by the Chichester-Constable family
HUL DDRI	Hull University Library, documents deposited by the Bethell family of Rise
HUL DDWB	Hull University Library, documents deposited by the Wickham Boynton family
<u>Inq. Misc.</u>	<u>Inquisitions Miscellaneous</u>
<u>I.p.m.</u>	<u>Inquisitions post mortem</u>
<u>Itin. Richard I</u>	<u>Itinerary of Richard I</u>
<u>Kal. Inv. Exch.</u>	<u>Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer</u>
<u>Lansd.</u>	<u>Lansdowne</u>
<u>Lincs.</u>	<u>Lincolnshire</u>
<u>Lincs. Arch. and Arch. Soc. Report</u>	<u>Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Report</u>
<u>Min. Acc</u>	<u>Ministers' Accounts (in the Public Record Office)</u>
<u>Mon. Ang.</u>	<u>Monasticon Anglicanum</u>
<u>Ord. Vit.</u>	<u>Orderic Vitalis</u>
<u>Pat. R.</u>	<u>Patent Rolls</u>
<u>Plac. Abbrev.</u>	<u>Placita Abbreviata</u>
<u>PR</u>	<u>Pipe Roll</u>
<u>PRO</u>	<u>Public Record Office</u>
<u>PRS</u>	<u>Pipe Roll Society</u>
<u>R.</u>	<u>Roll(s)</u>
<u>Reg.</u>	<u>Register</u>
<u>Regesta</u>	<u>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum</u>
<u>Rot.</u>	<u>Rotuli</u>
<u>Rot. Chart.</u>	<u>Rotuli Chartarum</u>
<u>Rot. de Dom.</u>	<u>Rotuli de Dominabus et Fueris et Buellis</u>
<u>Rot. Fin.</u>	<u>Rotuli de Finibus</u>
<u>Rot. Hund.</u>	<u>Rotuli Hundredorum</u>
<u>Rot. Lib.</u>	<u>Rotuli de Liberate</u>
<u>Rot. Litt. Cl.</u>	<u>Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum</u>
<u>Rot. Litt. Pat.</u>	<u>Rotuli Litterarum Patentium</u>
<u>Rot. Ob!</u>	<u>Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus</u>
<u>Rot. Prest.</u>	<u>Rotuli de Praestitis</u>
<u>Rot. Scacc. Norm.</u>	<u>Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae</u>

RS	Rolls Series
SS	Selden Society
<u>TRHS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>
<u>VCH</u>	<u>Victoria County History</u>
<u>YAJ</u>	<u>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</u>
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society
<u>YD</u>	<u>Yorkshire Deeds</u>
<u>YI</u>	<u>Yorkshire Inquisitions</u>
<u>YM Fasti</u>	<u>York Minster Fasti</u>

# INTRODUCTION

Lordynges, ther is in Yorkshire, as I gesse,  
A mersshy contree called Holdernesse

Chaucer, The Summoner's Tale, lines 1-25

Between the Hull valley, the Humber and the North Sea, in the old East Riding of Yorkshire, lies the triangular area of Holderness. It is low-lying, mainly less than 75 feet above sea level, but not entirely flat because it is composed of glacial morainic debris, which produces small hills and hollows. The sea coast is constantly eroded by the waves, which wash the soil south to the Humber and to Spurn Point, a distinctive ness or promontory, one of the outstanding features of the map of England.

For hundreds of years much of Holderness has been the marshy country described by Chaucer in the opening lines of the *Summoner's Tale*, with slow-moving water-courses and hundreds of large and small meres. The district was isolated from the rest of England by the Humber on the south, still a formidable barrier in the 20th century, the River Hull and its flood-lands to the west, and the less impressive but still present barrier of the Earl's Dyke to the north. These watery defences were sufficient in the Middle Ages for Holderness to be described as an island (CM I, p.89). In the 1260s the men of Holderness by defending the one bridge across the Hull could keep out the king's messengers (CM II, p.107), and even in the 19th century there was only one other bridge, at North Frodingham.

The geographical isolation of Holderness affected its historical development. The Romans left few traces of their occupation, and Saxon and Danish settlers, from the evidence of place-names, came late to the area except around the creeks of south Holderness and beside the Hull. Nevertheless by 1086 the pattern of many small villages which persists to this day had been established. In the time of King Edward the Confessor the land of Holderness was in the hands of many small freeholders, but after the Norman Conquest it became a self-contained unit, almost a small palatinate, and the early Norman kings granted the land as one block, to men they felt they could trust. With this block of land went considerable privileges. The family into whose hands Holderness came for nearly 200 years was that of Aumale.

The counts of Aumale, like almost all the great landholders of 11th-century England, were foreigners. They came from a small but compact county in north-east Normandy, and being related to the family of William the Conqueror were trusted with the important block of land above the Humber,

up which river so many Saxon and Danish fleets had sailed. The family fortunes of the Aumales waxed and waned during their two centuries' tenure of Holderness. When a weak king ruled England and central government was feeble, as in Stephen's reign, the troubled times at the end of John's reign and in Henry III's minority, the counts extended their powers, whether deliberately seeking a greater share of government or merely filling a vacuum. In this way William le Gros became immensely powerful in the 1140s and William de Forz II in the period 1215-1220. When the pendulum swung back in favour of the central government, the counts lost their acquisitions and the stronger kings took back what they considered to be their own.

The political affiliations of the counts, as far as they can be discerned, veered between loyalty to the king and self-interest. William le Gros, William de Mandeville and Baldwin de Béthune were steadfastly loyal to their monarch in the face of great difficulties. Odo, Stephen and William de Forz II changed sides many times. Family alliances probably affected the counts' political views, but as most of the great families of England were related, this should not be over-emphasised. In addition there runs through the counts' political behaviour a streak of northern separatism, perhaps first seen in Stephen of Aumale's attempt to gain the English throne. William le Gros in the 1140s was acting as a northern viceroy for King Stephen, and William de Forz II was associated briefly with the Northerners in 1215. In the Bytham war William de Forz II was apparently not supported by his northern neighbours and tenants, but rather (if any common bond can be discerned) by his Poitevin allies. But it was to the north that he fled in 1221 as Castle Bytham fell, and it was the security of the northern castles that troubled the central government at this time. William de Forz III could have consolidated a very powerful position on both sides of the northern border, but he renounced it.

The Aumales were of significance not only in northern and English politics, but also in international affairs. Like most of their peers, they had continental interests which especially in the 12th century seem to have been more absorbing to them than their English lands. They were often in Normandy, or with the king on his continental travels. The three successive husbands of Countess Hawisa spent most of their time with the king, travelling across Europe, to Italy and as far as Palestine. Baldwin de Béthune endured imprisonment as a hostage for Richard Coeur de Lion. Many of the counts vowed to go on crusade, few achieved it.

The greatest harm that could befall an aristocratic family like the Aumales was the failure of male heirs. This is shown again and again in medieval history, and the story of the Aumales points the moral once more.



When William le Gros died in 1179, he left his daughter and heiress to the king's mercy as a royal ward. Henry II married her to William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, a reasonable alliance for her; but on William's death Richard I married her against her will firstly to William de Forz, a Poitevin adventurer and mercenary leader, and after he too died, to Baldwin de Béthune, another of Richard's military companions, who had been with the king on his disastrous return from the crusade. The next failure of male heirs in the 1270s, followed by the death of the surviving heiress, meant the end of the house of Aumale.

The counts never possessed very many knights' fees (their main honours were Holderness with twenty fees and Skipton with thirteen), but nevertheless they seem to have held a high-ranking place in England, perhaps because the fees of Holderness were exceptionally large. The counts were not very successful in managing their finances, and were often in debt, but they must have had considerable potential wealth, for Countess Hawisa in 1212 offered the exchequer 5,000 marks; she did not at that time possess such a sum, but the proffer was accepted, so it may be assumed the exchequer thought she was capable of raising it.

All the counts showed the preoccupation of their class with war and hunting. They all went on campaigns, some of which lasted for years. Two counts, William le Gros and William de Forz II, displeased the government by organising tournaments. In addition to their warlike activities, all the counts took an interest in furthering one or more of the religious orders, and in their turn, the Benedictines, the Clunacs, the Austin canons, the Gilbertines, the Cistercians and the Dominican friars benefitted from the counts' patronage.

The frequent absence of the counts from Holderness meant that the administration had to be effective: as when the kings of England travelled out of their realm, the power of their deputies left behind grew. In the early period the counts lived mainly in Normandy and were sent the produce of their English estates: after the loss of Normandy the counts were often away on royal business. The organisation of administrative systems was one of the great and lasting Norman achievements, wherever the Normans settled. The counts' chief official in Holderness was a steward. There were also chamberlains, a marshal, a constable, a butler, clerks, warreners and falconers. Because of its status as a privileged area, Holderness under the counts also had some more unusual officers, a private sheriff, a private coroner, a bailiff or serjeant of the wapentake, and a number of bailiff's officers, who administered sub-divisions of Holderness. These men and

their work are of interest in administrative history. In addition the outstanding career of Fulk de Oyry, the count's steward at the beginning of the 13th century, is worth consideration.

The liberty of Holderness was established early by the Conqueror, and except for grants made by the crown to the church before the lordship of Holderness was created, the counts held all the land and all the royal jurisdiction within Holderness. They could exclude all royal officers except the king's justices. Their exercise of those powers and their independence fluctuated according to the strength of central government, and in this way reflects the pressure of the Norman and Angevin kings on the great landholders. The privileges of Holderness were associated with the tenure of the wapentake.

The knights of Holderness held their fees from the counts, and the process whereby this infeudation took place can be traced from the time of Domesday Book to about 1179, the death of William le Gros, when it was substantially complete. The fees in Holderness were exceptionally large, possibly reflecting the defensive nature of the original grant of the territory. Only three families held enough land in Holderness to make up a whole knight's fee of 48 carucates, and these were families of more than local importance: Fauconberg, St Quintin and Ros. Among the obligations of military tenure, service in the field is one of the most interesting, for Holderness provides a rare example, in 1214, of the arrangements made by the communitas to provide four knights to serve in Poitou for all the knights of the honour.

Below the military tenants were the ordinary people of Holderness, villeins, bordars and cottars. It was the husbandry of these villagers that supported the knights and above them the counts. A considerable amount of rural effort in Holderness went into the building of dykes to provide communication routes, fisheries and boundaries. There were only three boroughs in Holderness, all founded by the counts of Aumale, and only one of these, Hedon, was successful, so that the area remained almost entirely agricultural.

Little remains today of the landscape of 12th- and 13th-century Holderness: some churches or parts of churches, the shapes of villages. The fields have all been enclosed, the marshes and meres for the most part drained. The buildings are gone. Meaux abbey is no more, its stone taken to build the fortifications of Hull in the 16th century. Swine and Nunkeeling are parish

churches, where once there were nunneries. Burstall priory which belonged to the abbey of Aumale has been washed away by the sea, and of the two leper hospitals outside Hedon, only the names survive. The borough of Ravenser Odd is under the waters of the Humber, and Hedon as a port is finished, the Haven finally being filled in during the 1970s. The town of Hedon which for a long time kept its medieval street pattern is rapidly changing out of all recognition because of modern development. The counts' manor at Burstwick is a farm, and the parks around it have gone. Perhaps the massive earthworks of Skipsea castle, in the lonely lands of north Holderness, are the best memorial to the counts of Aumale.

Holderness has been fortunate in its historians. A two-volume History and Antiquities of the Seignior of Holderness was published by George Poulson in 1840. It was based on the manuscripts of William Dade, rector of Barmston, written in the 1780s under the patronage of the Constables. Dade used documents in Burton Constable library which have now disappeared, and although Poulson and Dade were poor transcribers of documents and irritatingly vague about references, the fact that they had access to many more documents than can now be found makes the work of great value.

Modern historians who have worked on Holderness include Denholm-Young, who used the account rolls and surveys of Holderness at the end of the 13th century to provide material for an article in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal of 1934 and also for part of Seigniorial Administration in England. Much has been written about the historical geography of Holderness by the late T. Sheppard, particularly in relation to the changing coastline, by Dr June Sheppard of the university of London, and Dr Alan Harris of the university of Hull.

In its source material Holderness is well served. Most of the charters, calendared in Appendix A, are in print, mainly in the volumes of Early Yorkshire Charters or in the printed cartularies of religious houses. The local monastic chronicle of Meaux abbey was published for the Rolls Series in 1836-8. Most of the national records too before about 1230 are now in print. There is no shortage of material for Yorkshire history before 1260; there are not as yet many historical works based on this material. This thesis is an attempt to synthesise the available material for one part of Yorkshire. It is hoped that such a study in local history is a subject of value on its own, and may also be valuable in the light it sheds on aspects of national history. An immense amount of work has been done in the last decades on central government of the 12th and 13th centuries, and on publishing the archives of that government. It is now appropriate to see how the central government interacted with liberties such as Holderness, their lords and their officials, their knights and the great mass of ordinary people on whom the whole structure rested.

THE COUNTS OF AUMALE IN POLITICS 1086-1260

## The counts of Aumale in politics 1086-1260

### Drogo de la Beuvrière

Whatever else the Norman Conquest may or may not have affected in England, it altered dramatically the political balance in Holderness. Here where before 1066 many laymen had held estates, the redistribution of lands that followed the harrying of the North and the confiscation of Earl Morcar's lands in 1070-1071 led to the creation of a single powerful block of land, in the possession of one man, a foreigner and a member of the victorious military alliance, who held all Holderness except for the church's lands.

Most estates of the Normans as recorded in Domesday Book were composed of scattered fragments, as the Normans usually inherited the scattered estates of their Anglo-Saxon predecessors, built up piece-meal over the years. Where a block of land was put together by the Conqueror and given to one man, the reason must have been political and military: such concentrations, in strategic parts of England, such as the south coast and the Welsh and Scottish borders, must have been deliberate. In nearly all cases these blocks of land were entrusted to a close relative of the Conqueror. It was also typical of the blocks of land that they were centred on a castle. This was true of Alan of Brittany's lordship of Richmond, Ilbert de Lacy's lordship of Pontefract, the lordships of Tickhill and Conisbrough and other concentrations of lands in England (1). It was also true of the grant of Holderness to Drogo de la Beuvrière.

Between c.1070 and 1086 Drogo de la Beuvrière was established in Holderness. Although he was in no way connected with the counts of Aumale, he was their forerunner and the first holder of the later honour of Holderness. It was into his hand that the concentration of lands in Holderness, with many estates in Lincolnshire and scattered manors elsewhere in England, was first placed by the Conqueror, and most of the lands held by Drogo continued to be part of the honour until the end of the 13th century.

All that is known of Drogo de la Beuvrière is contained in three sources, that is, Domesday Book and two 14th-century Cistercian documents. Drogo is the Flemish form of the name also written Drew, Dru or Dreux; he probably came from the village of la Beuvrière near Bethune (2) and occurs in Domesday Book as "Drogo de Bevrere, Bevraria or Bevreire", "Drogo de Heldrenesse", or merely as "Drogo" (3).



At the making of Domesday Book, Drogo held all the lands in Holderness not in the hands of the church. Of the five most valuable estates (each worth £56 in the time of King Edward) four had belonged to Morcar, one (Burstwick) to Tostig. In Lincolnshire Drogo was granted twenty-four estates, the three principal ones being Barrow on Humber, Castle Bytham where there are the remains of a motte and bailey castle, and Carlton le Moorland, all of which had previously belonged to Morcar. Some of Drogo's lands in Yorkshire (notably Aldbrough), Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire had belonged to Ulf, son of Tope (4) and some lands in which Drogo replaced Morcar had previously belonged to Ulf c.1066-1068. Drogo also held some lands in Norfolk and Suffolk (5).

In the early 14th century Drogo de la Beuvrière is mentioned in one of the registers of Fountains abbey as the predecessor of the counts of Aumale in Holderness, and in the late 14th century the same account of Drogo was copied, almost word for word, into the chronicle of Meaux. It is possible that both the Fountains and the Meaux account came from a common, earlier source, Meaux being a daughter house of Fountains.

The history of Drogo (who is called de la Beverer in the Fountains register and de la Bouerer in the Meaux chronicle), according to the Cistercian chroniclers, was as follows: William the Conqueror gave the island of Holderness to Drogo, a Fleming, an excellent soldier and experienced in fighting, who had come into England with the Conqueror. Drogo's wife was a relative of King William's, and by misfortune he killed her. After her violent death, Drogo came to the king, pretending he wished to return to Flanders with his wife, and asked him for some money, which the king gave him. With the money, Drogo hurried overseas, and although the king, when he found out what had happened, sent after him to have him seized, Drogo never returned. In addition both Cistercian accounts record that Drogo de la Beuvrière built Skipsea castle (6). No other reference to Drogo is known; he does not occur in any of the sources of 11th-century history, and the story, while there is nothing inherently improbable about it, cannot be supported by any other source than Domesday Book (7).

There are some points of interest in this story. Firstly Drogo was a Fleming, a member of the nation that provided many knights for the Conqueror's great enterprise in 1066 and gained rich rewards (8). Several



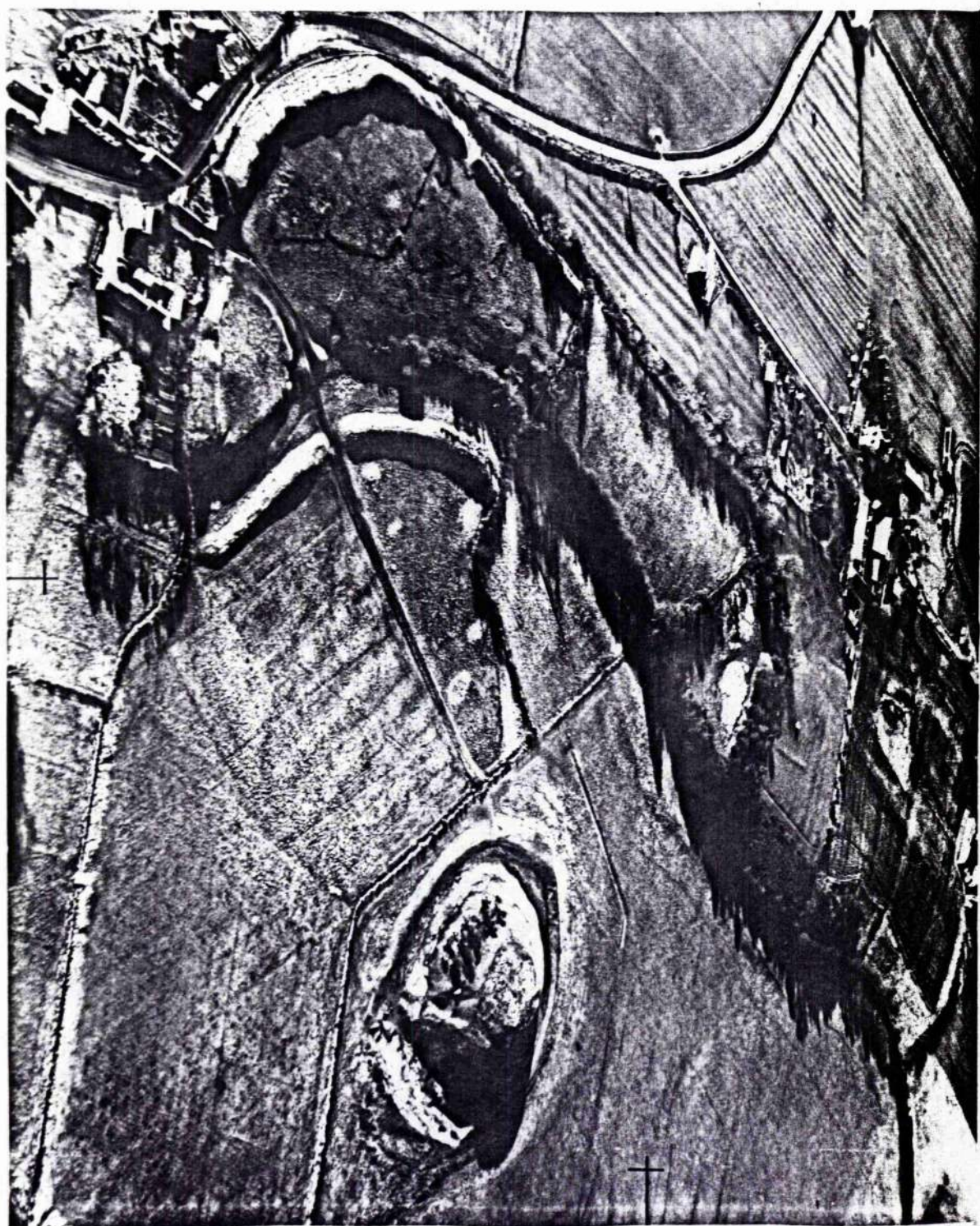
of Drogo's knights also came from Flanders, and possibly the majority of them, but too few are given surnames in Domesday Book to provide proof on this point. The preponderance of Germanic names indicates a primarily Flemish settlement of Holderness by 1086; and it may have been this group the Conqueror had in mind when he addressed a writ to the "French or Flemish or English" of the province of York (9). Many Flemings settled in England and Wales after 1066; another Fleming who was granted lands in Yorkshire at this time was Gilbert de Gant (or Ghent), a member of the garrison of York in 1069, who held Hunmanby in 1086 and was soon to acquire Bridlington (10).

It was not unknown for Flemings to return home, tired of England and their troublesome subjects, for the first post-Conquest earl of Chester, Gerbod, who was created earl c.1070, spent less than a year in England before obtaining the king's leave to return to Flanders, from whence he never returned (11). Gilbert de Gant too returned to Flanders in 1075, but not permanently (12). It would not be unreasonable therefore for Drogo to follow in the footsteps of Gerbod and Gilbert de Gant by asking for leave to return home (royal permission was evidently necessary for the embattled conquerors) and for money, possibly in lieu of his English fief, possibly merely for his expenses in going home.

Drogo was in possession of Holderness in 1086, at the time of the compilation of the main part of the Yorkshire Domesday, but had probably left the country and had his lands confiscated by the time the recapitulation of the Yorkshire Domesday was drawn up, for in the recapitulation (a feature of the Yorkshire folios which does not exist for any other county) the lands formerly held by Drogo are listed with no named holder (13). It must have been some time in the latter half of 1086, and probably at the Salisbury court of August 1086, that Drogo went to King William, for after Salisbury the king went to the Isle of Wight and in the second half of the year crossed the Channel, never to return (14). Before 9 September 1087 William had regranted Holderness to Odo, the first of the line of the counts of Aumale.

Both the Cistercian documents maintain that Drogo de la Beuvrière built Skipsea castle, which seems probable. Skipsea was not mentioned in Domesday Book, but was included in Harold's former manor of Cleeton to which it was attached to the end of the middle ages. There was at least one castle in Holderness by 1098-1102, which may have been Skipsea or Aldbrough (15), and the tithes of a castle are mentioned in 1115 (16).





1. Aerial photograph of the earthworks of Skipsea castle, from the south. See p.20  
Cambridge University



At Skipsea are the large earthworks of an early Norman motte and bailey castle (17). Castle-building was one of the hallmarks of the Conqueror's campaigns, and 11th-century chroniclers remark on the successes the castles brought William in his wars against his rebellious subjects (18). Few castles had been seen in England before the Conquest, and when William built two castles at York in quick succession in 1068 and 1069 he was setting a pattern for the occupation of the whole of the north of England. More than forty motte and bailey castles were raised in Yorkshire alone (19). It is likely therefore that the motte and bailey at Skipsea was built in the first years of Drogo's occupation.

The surviving earthworks are spectacular. The motte is 46 feet high with a summit area of one-fifth of an acre; originally the motte was an island completely surrounded and separated from the bailey by the waters of Skipsea mere, now dried up. There is no trace of stonework on the summit of the motte but a fragment of a stone wall remained on the eastern slope in 1976. A ditch and bank surrounding the motte was probably added in the 13th century as an additional defence when the mere silted up. The crescent-shaped bailey is  $8\frac{1}{4}$  acres in extent, defended on three sides by a rampart and ditch known locally as the Bail Welts (20).

Although the defences of Skipsea are tactically very strong, strategically the castle does not seem well placed. It would have defended in part the northern border, the weakest of the Holderness boundaries, and could at least give warning, if little else, of a Danish fleet sailing down the coast bound for the Humber. In other ways it was isolated from the river communication system of Holderness and the Lincolnshire lands of Drogo and later lords of Holderness; and Skipsea was soon replaced by a more southerly caput at Burstwick (21). Professor Le Patourel has argued persuasively that castles such as Skipsea, located in concentrations of estates under one man, were offensive instruments of conquest, rather than defensive, and it is undoubtedly true that Skipsea's use as a defensive castle against a Danish fleet would be very slight, if two castles on the very banks of the Ouse could not protect York from the rebels (22).

The ascertainable facts about Drogo de la Beuvrière seem to be that he was a Fleming, richly rewarded by the Conqueror with lands in England before 1086, the most valuable of which had belonged to Morcar; he was entrusted with the defence of an important part of the north, and was

married to a relative of the king. He was accompanied into Holderness by other Flemish settlers. He showed after some sixteen years an inclination to return home, for which he had to ask the king's permission. He probably built a motte and bailey castle, as many of his contemporaries did on their lands, at Skipsea. In 1086 he disappeared from the English scene; but behind him he left a district, gathered however loosely into one ownership, the foundation of the future honour of Holderness.

### Odo of Champagne

After the disappearance of Drogo de la Beuvrière, William the Conqueror granted Holderness to another relative, Count Odo, the dispossessed count of Champagne. He had married (becoming her third husband) Adelaide, sister of the Conqueror, who was countess of Aumale. It was through this marriage that Aumale, a small county in north-eastern Normandy, became connected with Holderness, and Odo and Adelaide's descendants became counts of Aumale and lords of Holderness (23). In some sense the small Norman county remained the chief element in the honour, as the small village of Montbray to the north of St-Sever-Calvados gave its name to the great English honour of Mowbray. In the case of Aumale however the early loss of the county weakened the connection, until it became customary to write of the honour or lordship of Holderness, rather than of the honour of Aumale. The family never acquired an English title, save briefly under Stephen, when William le Gros was created earl of Yorkshire.

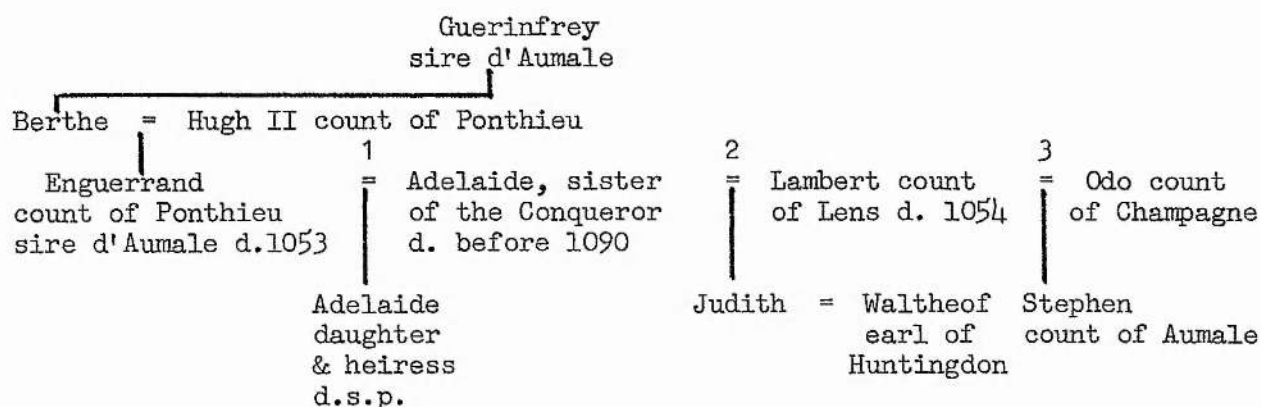
The origins of Aumale are recorded in the Benedictine annals. In the time of Richard "the fourth prince of the Normans" (probably Richard II, 996-1026), a man called Guerinfrey built a castle at Aumale, and also established canons in the church of St Martin d'Auchy, outside Aumale, later to become a Benedictine abbey (24). Aumale is on the River Bresle, and the castle built there was the gateway to Normandy from the north-east (25). It was destined to change hands many times before 1204, when it was finally lost to the French. But even then the loss was not recognised, for in the year 1291 the last countess of Aumale went to Paris to claim, unsuccessfully, the county of Aumale (26).

Guerinfrey's daughter and heiress, Berthe, married Hugh II, count of Ponthieu, and from this marriage came Enguerrand, count of Ponthieu and sire d'Aumale. He married Adelaide, sister of the Conqueror. Enguerrand was killed in 1053, and after being married for only a year to Lambert, count of Lens (killed in 1054), Adelaide was married a third time to Odo, count of Champagne. Adelaide had retained Aumale, her dower lands from her first marriage, and the title of countess, for she occurs in Domesday Book as countess of Aumale, tenant of lands in Essex and Suffolk (27). All these properties were subsequently held by the counts of Aumale. Adelaide's third husband Odo was lord of Aumale by right of his wife, and the title and county of Aumale passed to their son Stephen. Adelaide, together with Count Odo and their son Stephen, described, confirmed and increased the gifts to the canons of St Martin d'Auchy-lès-Aumale made by

Guerinfred, her first husband's grandfather. She added ornaments for the church, vestments and bells, and caused it to be dedicated by Archbishop Maurilius of Rouen (1055-1067) and added the vicomte's jurisdiction over the canons' lands and the tolls of St Martin's day fair in Aumale (28).

How Odo came to Normandy is uncertain. The Cistercian chronicler of Fountains describes him as a younger son who had killed a nobleman in Champagne and fled to Normandy (29); the Meaux chronicler follows this story, but does not describe Odo as a younger son (30). It has been suggested that Odo was dispossessed of his rights in Champagne by his uncle Theobald, because he was under age when his father Stephen died (31). He arrived at Duke William's court in Normandy some time after his father's death in 1047 or 1048, his father's brother becoming the next count of Champagne (32). As Count Odo he witnessed a charter of Henry I of France to the abbey of St Medard, Soissons, in 1048 (33). For whatever reason he came to Normandy, under the patronage of the archbishop of Rouen Odo was given the widowed Adelaide in marriage, after 1054 and before 1068 (34), with the town of Aumale which owed the service of ten knights to the archbishop.

The complicated early generations of the lords of Aumale may be followed more simply in a table:



(35)

Odo subsequently asked the archbishop of Rouen to suggest to the Conqueror that he be given further lands to support Adelaide, and between 1086 and 1087, twenty years after his marriage, King William gave Odo the island or county of Holderness, on Drogo's forfeiture (36). A further request to the king, on the grounds that Holderness grew nothing but wild oats, brought the gift of Bytham in Lincolnshire and many other possessions (37). These two gifts, both made by the Conqueror, must have been made

very close together, as after Drogo de la Beuvrière fled, William I had not many months to live.

It is interesting that the first gift was Holderness, and that the Lincolnshire and other lands were added as an afterthought, even though Drogo had held them all. Holderness was the main part of the later honour, and the strategic concentration of lands that the Conqueror had created for one relative by marriage was granted with great rapidity to another relative, King William's brother-in-law, thus retaining the strong circle of blocks of lands in the hands of his relatives at sensitive parts of England.

Odo was never called count of Aumale, but Count Odo, or Odo count of Champagne. Aumale was probably not a county originally (before it came into Adelaide's possession) but became known as a county either because the lords of the town were counts in their own right, or because it was deliberately created a county by William I in favour of his sister. The first reference to a county of Aumale is in 1082 when Adelaide, in a charter to Holy Trinity, Caen, is called countess of Aumale (38).

Odo's rights over Aumale were only by virtue of his wife, and after her death before 1090 the inheritance came first to another Countess Adelaide, daughter of Enguerrand and step-daughter of Odo (39) and then to Count Stephen, Odo and Adelaide's son (40). Odo's main interests therefore lay in England, where he continued to hold the lands granted him by the Conqueror until his forfeiture in 1096. He was the first Norman lord of Holderness to hold English lands only, and probably this influenced the development of Holderness: unfortunately records from this period are so rare that his influence is largely unrecorded.

Count Odo's first appearance in English history was in 1088. In that year William de St Calais, bishop of Durham, was brought to trial following his rebellion under the leadership of Odo of Bayeux against Rufus (41). He was conducted to the king by Count Alan of Brittany, Roger of Poitou and Count Odo, who pledged their faith to the bishop, that if the king was unwilling to try him according to ecclesiastical law with suitable judges, they would conduct him safely back to Durham. These three men appeared during the proceedings of the trial, and eventually it was through their intercession that the bishop was allowed to go overseas. Roger of Poitou was their chief spokesman; the other two counts had a more personal interest, for during the absence of the bishop overseas, the lands of the see (that is,



Howden, Welton and other estates in Yorkshire) were divided between them, the holders of Richmond and Holderness (42).

Count Odo was one of eight named men present at the foundation of the great Benedictine abbey of St Mary's York in 1088 (43). It was probably at this time that he gave St Mary's the manor of Hornsea from his Holderness lands, a rich manor for which the abbot two hundred years later claimed wreck and the assizes of bread and ale. When asked by what warrant he claimed these, he said he claimed wreck because he "had the manor of Hornsea from the gift of Count Odo who came with King William the Bastard, conqueror of England, the count having wreck as pertaining to the manor". The jury agreed (44). By supporting the bishop of Durham and the newly created abbey at York, Odo was strengthening his position in Yorkshire: unfortunately nothing else is known of his activities in the north.

Odo witnessed a charter of William I to the abbey of St Martin at Troarn in 1068 as Count Odo (45) and a charter of William II to St Pierre au Monte Blandin at Ghent, between 1087 and 1091, as Count Odo of Champagne (46).

At the beginning of Rufus's reign Odo and his son played the ambivalent part of many of the Norman barons. Their loyalties divided between the duke of Normandy and the king of England, they had an interest on both sides of the Channel. Odo's first appearance in the new reign as "prisoner's friend" for William de St Calais shows him to be not whole-heartedly on Rufus's side. However in the Norman campaign of 1089-90 Odo and his son Stephen, persuaded by diplomacy and bribes, were the first to give up their frontier town of Aumale to Rufus's supporters, and received a garrison of king's men into the castle. They enlarged and strengthened the castle at the expense of the royal treasury and the castle became a centre for operations in the surrounding area (47). At the peace talks between Robert Curthose and William Rufus in 1090 at Rouen, Aumale was among the lands conceded to Rufus, together with Eu and Gournay; by these concessions William Rufus controlled the whole eastern frontier of Normandy (48). Nevertheless Odo does not seem to have been often with Rufus, for he only once witnesses a royal charter for him and was soon to betray him (49).

In 1095 Odo was deeply involved with William count of Eu, Robert de Mowbray earl of Northumberland, Roger de Lacy and Gilbert de Clare, in a plot to deprive Rufus of his throne and his life. They planned to replace William Rufus by Stephen, Odo's son, who was the Conqueror's nephew and of the ducal line. The rebellion was a failure, and collapsed when Rufus captured firstly Mowbray's castles of Tynemouth and Bamburgh and then



Mowbray himself. The chief conspirators were punished by the Council of Salisbury in January 1096; Mowbray was imprisoned, William count of Eu was blinded and mutilated, and Odo was fortunate to be merely deprived of his lands and put into prison (50). Stephen, the pretender to the throne, had already taken the cross, which may have been why he was spared punishment, and later in the year he left on crusade with Robert duke of Normandy (51). The family lands in England passed out of the hands of the Aumales, to Arnulf, youngest son of Earl Roger of Salisbury (52).

Although William Rufus was an unpopular king, there can have been little chance of the Norman and English people accepting Stephen of Aumale in his place: it would necessitate passing over all the sons of the Conqueror to give the crown to a young man whose father was not even a Norman by birth. Possibly the rebels thought they could muster enough support in northern England to carry them through: a streak of northern separatism is apparent in many of the rebellions of Anglo-Norman and Angevin England, and the campaign of 1095 was fought in the north.

What happened to Count Odo after the Council of Salisbury it is difficult to say. He was probably still alive in July 1096, when his son Stephen made a gift to Beauvais abbey for the souls of the deceased William king of the English and the deceased Adelaide, his mother (53). A count Odo was holding land in Lindsey at the time of the survey of 1115-1118, land which remained afterwards part of the fee of Aumale, and had been at the time of Domesday Book part of the fee of the bishop of Bayeux. Many more lands however which had been held in 1086 by Drogo de la Beuvrière were at the time of the Lindsey Survey in the hands of Stephen of Aumale. It seems possible that Odo's lands were restored to his son Stephen, but that at the end of his life he was released and given some land in Lincolnshire (54). Nothing is known of Count Odo's death (55).

### Arnulf de Montgomery

For a short time the English lands of the counts of Aumale passed into the possession of Arnulf de Montgomery, a man overshadowed in history by his notorious brother Robert de Bellême, and one of the younger sons of Roger of Shrewsbury. Arnulf shared in the aggrandisement of the house of Montgomery and also in its downfall. Two documents show that Arnulf was for a time in possession of the major part of the Aumale fee in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, for he enfeoffed the abbey of La Sauve Majeure with the church of Bytham and its tithes, and the church of Barrow, by a gift made at Barrow, and he granted to St Martin de Sees £10 of tithes from Holderness churches, which were later granted by his successors, the Aumales, to different houses (56).

Probably Arnulf was granted Holderness and the other English lands of Odo immediately after the confiscation at Salisbury in 1096. He held them until 1102, when his brother, defying Henry I, was stripped of all his English and Welsh lands (57). It is interesting that Arnulf held both Yorkshire and Lincolnshire lands, showing that by this time the union first achieved under Drogo, asked for and acquired in two stages by Odo, was now taken for granted. While his inheritance was in alien hands, Stephen of Aumale was on crusade with Robert Curthose, an adventure from which he returned in the autumn of 1100 (58). Stephen and the Montgomery family had many grounds for enmity. Stephen's father-in-law, Ralf de Mortemer, held a leading position in the Welsh middle marches, and Robert de Bellême was the mightiest of his enemies (59). Stephen's half-sister Adelaide was heiress to her father, the count of Ponthieu, and died without an heir, probably unmarried: Robert de Bellême had married another Ponthieu heiress, and succeeded to the county of Ponthieu in 1101; he persistently ill-treated his wife, who eventually left him (60). In addition to these family disputes, Stephen's own English inheritance was for a time in the hands of a Montgomery. When he regained his lands it is not surprising that Stephen did not ratify Arnulf's gifts to the churches Arnulf patronised, but regranted the same tithes elsewhere: and in the Norman campaigns of Henry I, Stephen invariably took the opposite side to Robert de Bellême (61).

### Stephen, count of Aumale

Stephen, count of Aumale, was born before about 1070, being of age in 1090. He was heir to a great inheritance, his father's lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, his mother's fief in the south and east of England, and his mother's county of Aumale. He succeeded to Aumale on his mother's death, probably by 1090, when he delivered the castle to William Rufus (62) and certainly before 1096, when in a charter to Beauvais abbey he referred to his mother as then dead (63). For his English inheritance he had to wait longer, until it was recovered from the hands of Arnulf de Montgomery.

The lands of the county in France do not seem to have been of great extent. An examination of the places mentioned in early charters of the counts to the abbey of St Martin d'Auchy show nearly all of them to be within a radius of 10 kilometres of Aumale, mostly in Normandy, but some on the east side of the River Bresle and therefore outside the duchy (64). Hawisa, wife of Stephen count of Aumale, had the town of Mers in le Vimeu, at the mouth of the Bresle; as dowry (65) and her family, the Mortemers, possessed Airaines (Somme) (66). The Aumales also had an interest in the castle and bourg of Hulme in the Cotentin (67). Although not a very large fief, Aumale was of great importance as a Norman frontier town, and it was constantly captured and recaptured in the Norman wars until it was finally lost to France in 1204.

Stephen and his father were the first <sup>of</sup> ~~to~~ the Normans to join the king's cause in 1090 when they fortified the castle of Aumale and supported William against Duke Robert (68). Later in the year Stephen was amongst the generals and captains who were in command of the king's troops in Normandy (69). In January 1091 the peace made between Rufus and Duke Robert at Rouen confirmed the king's possession of Aumale (70). In 1092 Stephen witnessed a royal charter (71). Thus far Stephen had consistently supported William Rufus against the duke of Normandy: possibly because he held lands in Normandy but not in England, (where his father Odo was still in possession) and preferred an absent suzerain.

In 1095 all this was to change, for Stephen was involved by his father in the plot to depose William Rufus. After the failure of the conspiracy, which according to one chronicler was to place Stephen of Aumale on the throne of England (72), Count Odo lost all his lands in England. Stephen apparently escaped all punishment, possibly because he had taken the cross in 1095, and in 1096 he set out with Robert duke of Normandy on crusade, pleased to escape from the aftermath of the

unsuccessful rebellion (73).

Shortly before leaving Normandy, on 14 July 1096, Stephen gave the collegiate church of St Martin d'Auchy to the Benedictine abbey of St Lucian de Beauvais, in the presence of many people including Duke Robert (74). In October the army set out from northern France. It was under the joint leadership of Robert, duke of Normandy, his brother-in-law Stephen count of Blois, and his cousin Robert II, count of Flanders. From Pontarlier, where the army assembled, they moved southward into Italy. Passing through Lucca in November, the army leaders met Pope Urban and went on to Rome, then south by way of Monte Cassino into the Norman duchy. Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois decided to spend the winter in Calabria, and Stephen of Aumale may have stayed with Robert of Normandy, his first cousin: Robert of Flanders went on (75). On 5 April the Calabrian party embarked at Brindisi, and by slow stages reached the Holy Land. Stephen was at Nicaea in June (76) and was probably among the Normans who took part in the battle of Dorylaeum on 30 June 1097; in the following year, on 28 June 1098, the crusaders won a great victory over Kerbogha, before the walls of Antioch. On this occasion Stephen of Aumale is mentioned as fighting in the third division of the army, under Duke Robert (77).

In July an epidemic, probably typhoid, broke out in Antioch. The leading crusaders sought refuge in the country from the city pollution, and Robert of Normandy went to Lattakieh, which was handed over to him in trust for the emperor. He was so unpopular there that after a few weeks he was forced to leave, and by September he had returned to Antioch. At the beginning of 1099, Robert of Normandy joined the count of Toulouse in the march on Jerusalem, which fell in July 1099. Robert and his men played a prominent part in the battle of Ascalon, and it is probable that in Robert's travels during the summer of 1099 he was accompanied by Stephen of Aumale. Jerusalem was the great goal, and after such a long and difficult journey it is to be hoped that Stephen saw Jerusalem. Afterwards the duke and his Norman soldiers were eager to return home, and in early September they began to journey northwards. They were transported to Constantinople by the governor of Cyprus, and after a short stay there returned home, arriving in Normandy in the autumn of 1100, four years after they had set out (78).



In England, Stephen found that Arnulf de Montgomery held his father's lands in England. His stepfather's inheritance, the county of Ponthieu, was in the control of Robert de Bellême, Arnulf's brother, who was also dominating the Welsh marches, overshadowing Stephen's father-in-law (79). But the time of the Montgomery family was almost over, for in 1102 King Henry I summoned Robert de Bellême to court, to answer to 45 separate charges against him. Robert de Bellême, who had no illusions about what the verdict would be, immediately rebelled: but the king took all his castles one by one, and he was himself taken at Shrewsbury, banished and deprived of his lands (80). His family lost their English lands at the same time. King Henry had no cause to distrust Stephen of Aumale; the plot which had led to the disgrace of Odo of Champagne in 1095 had been against Rufus, not Henry, and already the weight of tradition supported the opinion that estates should pass from father to son. Stephen was restored to his father's former position in England, and by 1104 was supporting Henry I against Duke Robert (81), possibly because Robert was now in alliance with Robert de Bellême (82).

In 1114 Stephen was with King Henry keeping Christmas at Rouen (83), and the next year issued a charter to St Martin d'Auchy for the soul of William king of the English his uncle (William I), dated during the reign of "Henry king of the English and duke of the Normans" (84). His son and heir, who was to be known as William le Gros, was born by 1115 and was brought up in the household of Henry I (85). But by 1118 Count Stephen had changed sides again, and was involved in an attempt by Baldwin count of Flanders and the French king to invade Normandy on behalf of William Clito. Stephen was said to have been incited to join the rebellion by his wife Hawisa (86). During this year Henry I marched to Rouen, on a false rumour that Stephen count of Aumale and his neighbour Hugh de Gournay were fortifying it (87). By October 1119 Stephen was fighting alone against Henry I, and was cornered by the king at Vieux-Rouen (88). The count's friends advised him to submit, which he did and was forgiven by the king (89). In 1125 he witnessed a charter of Henry I (90).

Stephen made one final appearance in the tortuous Norman politics of his time. In 1127 William Clito, now married to a sister of the queen of France, was invested with Flanders on the murder of Charles the Good (91). Stephen count of Aumale with many other Norman lords rose in his support but they were defeated and punished, and many lost their lands. It is possible that at this time Stephen returned to the Holy Land and died there: as a result of a mission sent to Europe by the Knights Templar more people went there in 1128 than had done since the days of the First



2. Seal of Stephen, count of Aumale. Appendix A, No.4.  
Paris, archives nationales.

Crusade (92). Whether or not Stephen died in exile in 1127, he was certainly dead by 1130, when his son William was in possession of the English estates. Count Stephen had at least two other sons, Stephen and Ingelram (93) and four daughters (94).

Stephen count of Aumale spent little time in his English lands. He was in possession of Holderness and the Lincolnshire fiefs from c.1102 to c.1130, but several years of this period he may have spent on crusade. All his activities mentioned by Anglo-Norman chroniclers took place out of England, and he was constantly involved in the fratricidal wars of the Norman duchy. Out of six of his charters which have survived, three are issued from a named place, and these are all in Normandy: Aumale once, and Rouen twice (95). Stephen witnessed seven royal charters: two at Rouen, one each at Lincoln, St Albans, London, Bishop's Waltham and Nottingham (96), none of these being places where the count held lands. It seems reasonable to deduce that Stephen was primarily interested in Norman affairs, at home in Normandy, and living most of his time at Aumale or at the duke's court at Rouen, taking from his English possessions whatever produce was capable of being sent overseas, while spending as little time in England as possible. When in England he would be with the royal court rather than in marshy Holderness. Many of the Norman abbeyes used their English lands in the same way as the counts of Aumale evidently did at this early period of the 12th century (97). This view of Count Stephen is confirmed by his charter issued to St Martin d'Auchy in 1115, in which he granted the monks a tithe of everything which his ship brought from England (decimam omnium que navis mea de Anglia attulerit) which could be tithed (98).

With widespread lands to administer, and financial arrangements to be made - money for a crusade, the ship going to Normandy with the count's dues on board - it is not surprising to find in the time of Count Stephen traces of an administrative organisation within Holderness. There is no evidence from this date to show what privileges the count had in Holderness, but he evidently had his own sheriff there, who is addressed in two of his charters, and other officers, headed by the steward, and honorial barons (99).

An example of Count Stephen's equestrian seal has survived (102). It is similar to the royal equestrian seals of the Anglo-Norman kings, in that Stephen appears to be carrying a banner or spear. Many baronial seals of the same class and period show the baron holding a sword, and it is possible

that Stephen's banner may refer to the story mentioned only by the Cistercian chroniclers (103), that when Count Odo was given the fief of Aumale the service he owed the archbishop of Rouen was the service of ten knights and that in the excursions of the archbishop he was to be the "signifer". Alternatively, the banner shown on the seal may be connected with the continental practice of investing a vassal, particularly one granted an official rank such as duke or count, with a banner or staff as symbol of his office (104). The seal of Stephen's son, William le Gros, is only known from a 17th century drawing, but this also shows a banner on a lance. The seals of the later counts do not depict the banner or the lance, but by their time the county of Aumale had been lost to France.



William le Gros, count of Aumale

Stephen count of Aumale had a son by the year 1115 (105). His name is not known; but perhaps he was the future Count William, known as le Gros from his size, which grew so vast that by 1150 he could no longer ride a horse (106). William was in possession of his inheritance in both England and Normandy by 1130 (107), and an entry in the 1130 pipe roll suggests that he had either just come of age or just been confirmed in his inheritance, and that his Yorkshire lands had been formerly administered by a steward appointed by the king (108). One of Count William's first acts was to eject men who had ensconced themselves upon the Aumale demesne lands in Yorkshire, and in order that he might not be taken to law by them, he offered the king the large sum of 100 marks (109).

William was brought up at the court of King Henry I (110), and was married at the king's will to Cecily, one of the three daughters of William Fitz Duncan and Alice de Rumilly (111), and heiress to Skipton and Copeland. She had some connection with Rannulf Glanvill and his wife Bertha, for she made a grant for the soul of Bertha to Holm Cultram abbey c.1174-1175 (112). Cecily inherited Skipton from her mother Alice de Rumilly in or before 1187, and Copeland in Cumberland during her husband's lifetime, as co-heir of her brother William, known to history as the Boy of Egremont (113). It would appear that the marriage was not a success. Insults to Count William are included in the speech Henry of Huntingdon assigned to the earl of Gloucester before the battle of Lincoln in 1142, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the type of insult hurled against the leaders on both sides must have been suggested by current gossip, however exaggerated in the telling. William is said in this speech to have been so revolting that even his own wife had left him for another earl (114). The marriage seems to have produced only one child, a daughter Hawisa: William also had an illegitimate son Geoffrey (115).

Five years after William of Aumale came into his inheritance, the old king died and William's cousin Stephen of Blois slipped across the Channel and was crowned king. William of Aumale was, because of his age, probably not among those who swore to support Matilda's claim to the throne in 1127, and throughout the disturbances that marked Stephen's reign William remained faithful to Stephen's cause.

The reign opened peacefully, and in 1136 William of Aumale witnessed two royal charters, one being the Oxford charter of liberties by which Stephen gained the support of the church (116). From the beginning of his

reign however Stephen began to make mistakes in dealing with his barons, and 1137 brought trouble in both England and Normandy. What must have particularly concerned the Yorkshire barons were the attempts made by the king of Scots to bring Northumberland under his control. In 1136 King David invaded northern England and was bought off with the grant of Carlisle, Doncaster and the earldom of Huntingdon for his son (117). In 1138 David came over the Border again, whilst Stephen was engaged in the south and west against widespread rebellions. It seems to have been the untrammelled behaviour of the Picts from Galloway in David's army that united the northerners into the nearest thing to national resistance that 12th-century England knew (118). Under the leadership of the elderly Archbishop Thurstan, William of Aumale and Walter l'Espec, the barons and their men and the Yorkshire fyrd collected at York, and marched into battle near Northallerton around the banners of York, Beverley and Ripon minsters: the barons included all the great Yorkshire landholders, Gant, Lacy, Brus, Balliol, Mowbray, Percy, Fossard and Stuteville.

The battle was fought on the morning of 22 August 1138, the Yorkshire army being grouped around the standards of the minsters which were to give their name to the battle. The lightly-armed Scots, for all their ferocity, broke against the wall of dismounted mailed knights interspersed with archers, and the day ended in a substantial victory for the Yorkshiremen. In the battle William of Aumale played a leading part, and was named by some chroniclers as the English commander (119).

As a reward for his services in the Battle of the Standard, King Stephen created William of Aumale earl of Yorkshire (120), a title of which the earliest recorded use by William was in 1138-1139, witnessing a charter to St Frideswide, Oxford (121). It is possible that at the beginning of Stephen's reign William of Aumale was not recognised as a count, for in the charters of the king that he witnessed before the Battle of the Standard, he is named William of Aumale, and occurs far down on the list of witnesses, not among the comites (122). It was not until 1140 that he witnessed a charter as count of Aumale, a title which he used in England rather more often than that of earl of York (123).

Much has been written of the earldoms created in Stephen's reign by both the king and the empress. Although there were only seven English earls in 1135, in the four years between 1138 and 1142 the number was trebled to twenty-two (124). William of Aumale was a suitably qualified candidate for an earldom, because of his aristocratic background, his large territorial holding in Yorkshire, and his military services to the king.

Exactly what the position of earl entailed in Stephen's reign is debatable; but it would seem from William's actions in the remaining years of Stephen's reign that he had some military powers (he built a castle outside his own lands, fortified a priory and was the principal opponent of the imperialist Gants), some administrative powers, because royal writs were addressed to him as earl (125), and some control over the city of York, evident from his actions in the archiepiscopal elections of 1141-1154. Perhaps it was because of his status as earl of Yorkshire that William le Gros was empowered to issue coins for Stephen from the earl's borough of Hedon in Holderness (126).

It was about this time, in the 1130s, that William began to build the great castle of Scarborough, which he was afterwards to resign to Henry II (127). He seems to have taken Scarborough to do this, for there is no indication that it was previously held by his family; he may also have seized the castle at Pickering, the Brus castle at Castleton and perhaps some of the Bigod lands (128). At this time he took the manor of Howden from the bishop of Durham (129), which his grandfather had held years before (130). William also destroyed some North Riding villages to make a chase (131). These acts are symptoms of the weakening of royal control of the north.

The next political crisis in which William le Gros was involved was over the election of a new archbishop of York. When William had succeeded his father c.1130, Archbishop Thurstan (1119-1140), one of York's most effective archbishops, was already in mid career. William's wife and family were already known to Thurstan (132) and the count himself seems to have respected the archbishop.

After the death of Thurstan as a Cluniac at Pontefract in 1140, there was a disputed election at York. William le Gros offered to procure the archbishopric for his relation Waltheof, prior of Kirkham, if Waltheof would give him the archiepiscopal lands at Sherburn in Elmet. Waltheof refused the offer indignantly (133). Waltheof was the grandson of that Waltheof earl of Huntingdon who had married Count Stephen's half sister Judith, William's aunt (134). William having failed with Waltheof, subsequently supported King Stephen's nephew, William Fitz Herbert, a member of the Blois family as was William le Gros himself. Those who tried to quash the election of William Fitz Herbert claimed that William earl of York was present at the York chapter when the canons elected him in January 1141 and that William earl of York had ordered the canons in the king's name to chose Fitz Herbert. It is probable that William was on this second attempt to influence the election acting directly on orders

from the king given to him at Waverley (135) or sent to him as both earl of Yorkshire and a firm supporter of the king. Some of the canons who objected to the election, including the archdeacon of York, Walter of London, set off for London to complain to the king, but they were intercepted by the earl of York and imprisoned at his castle at Bytham, Lincolnshire, and the king confirmed the election (136). Walter was released soon afterwards, for he was in Rome in 1142, appealing against the election. He remained a dangerous opponent, and the earl may have been the instigator of those who subsequently in furious opposition to the arrival of a rival archbishop at York in 1148 castrated Walter of London (137).

In spite of William le Gros's intervention, William Fitz Herbert was deposed in 1147. William le Gros did his best to prevent another election, and so terrorised the bishop of Durham, William de St Barbe, that he dared not come to York. St Barbe had excommunicated William le Gros in a quarrel over the manor of Howden, and was aware that York and its earl were strong supporters of William Fitz Herbert. The new election was held out of the Aumale area of influence, at Richmond (138), when Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountains, was elected. Many men, including William earl of York, refused to accept the new archbishop, and for their obstinacy were anathematised (139). It is probable that William le Gros eventually accepted Henry Murdac, for within a few years of the election William was to found the abbeys of Vaudey and Meaux with colonies of monks from Murdac's house of Fountains. After Murdac's death William Fitz Herbert (who was later canonised as St William of York) was restored for a short while before he too died in 1154. During his restoration years he visited Meaux abbey, William le Gros's Cistercian foundation in Holderness (140).

After the events in York of January 1141, the count of Aumale must have joined the king almost immediately, for he was in Stephen's army at the battle of Lincoln on 2 February. He led the division on the left of the line with William de Ypres. The line was attacked in the flank by Welsh troops, which, however, were routed. But in their turn the royalists were scattered by the earl of Chester, and all the royalist cavalry fled. Most of the barons departed so quickly that they were suspected of treachery, and John of Hexham implies that William of Aumale abandoned the king to his fate (141). But there is no indication that William changed sides during the period of Stephen's captivity, and throughout Stephen's reign William le Gros remained consistently loyal to the king. On Stephen's release in November 1141 William hurried to join him, and spent Christmas with him at Canterbury (142).

In the spring of 1142 Stephen visited the north, coming to terms with



Rannulf earl of Chester and William de Roumare, through whose territories he passed. After Easter, which was 19 April that year, he arrived with his queen at York, where he prevented a tournament which had been arranged between the two great Yorkshire earls, Alan earl of Richmond and William earl of York (1143). Probably the tournament would have had large numbers of knights taking part on either side, and it was obviously in Stephen's interest to prevent two of his principal supporters wasting their resources against each other, rather than joining to crush the empress's forces.

The following year Stephen was faced with the most serious crisis of his reign. It began when he arrested Geoffrey de Mandeville in the autumn of 1143 and forced him to give up his castles. Geoffrey, once released, ravaged the fen country until his death in September 1144. Rannulf earl of Chester also rebelled in 1146, as always seeking to extend his power and territories; in the mid 1140s the anarchy was at its worst, and was not controlled until the end of 1146, when Rannulf lost his castles to Stephen.

In this period of private war and private revenge, William earl of York was battling against attacks by Chester and Gilbert de Gant (1144). The scene of the battles was Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; Chester held a large fief in Lincolnshire and the Gants had lands in Yorkshire, lying between Holderness and the Aumale lands in the North Riding. William le Gros called out men in Lincolnshire against Gilbert de Gant (1145), who attacked the Aumale lands in the south-west of Lincolnshire, burning Helewell and capturing the castle of Bytham where the archdeacon had been imprisoned. During the fighting William le Gros's brother was killed (1146). William went north, and battered to the ground the castle of Hunmarby, which belonged to Gilbert de Gant. Eustace Fitz John of Malton helped in this, and was afterwards blamed for it (1147). William also captured the priory of Bridlington (a Gant foundation), expelled the canons, and fortified the building: the manor of Bridlington belonged to the Gants (1148). Such action was not necessarily a sign of anti-religious bias: in an age of timber and wattle and daub building, a stone-built church or monastery possessed great military advantages (1149) and many were fortified during the course of the anarchy of Stephen's reign. It was probably at this time as part of the disputes over the election to the see of York, that William le Gros seized Ovenden near Halifax in the West Riding and other lands from the bishop of Durham (1150).

War was sporadic in the north of England until 1149. Part of the continuing disturbance was due to the disputes over the see of York, as the citizens of York refused to allow Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountains, to enter York although he was duly elected and consecrated. In 1149 a combination of Murdac, the king of Scots, young Henry Plantagenet and the earl of Chester marched to attack York. Stephen hurried north and the threatening movement collapsed, and Henry Plantagenet went overseas (151). At about this time, and before 1148, William le Gros made a vow to go to Jerusalem, as did many of the other barons, including Waleran of Meulan, William de Warenne and Roger de Mowbray (152).

By 1149 the civil war was over. William must have come to terms with his enemies, for by about 1147 Gilbert de Gant was helping to endow the Cistercian monastery William had founded at Bytham with the help of the monks from Fountains, and one of Gilbert's tenants, Geoffrey de Brachecourt, gave the monks a better site at Vaudey (153). Perhaps it was at the same time that William married his sister Agnes to William de Roumare II, son of the half-brother and ally of the earl of Chester (154).

In Stephen's reign William had immense power in the north. To him Stephen entrusted York (155), and he was described by a contemporary as "more truly the king, beyond the Humber" (156) and "practically lord of all Yorkshire" (157). But the accession of Henry II marked the beginning of the resumption of royal power, and William lost much of his acquired territory and power. William le Gros was a witness to the treaty of 1153 between Stephen and Henry at Westminster (158).

From the early days of the anarchy Henry Plantagenet claimed to be the true heir of England and Normandy (159) and seems to have preferred to forget the nineteen years of Stephen's misrule. Early in 1155 Henry II came to York, and "received back Yorkshire from the count of Aumale" (160). William attested a royal charter as count of Aumale at York in 1155 (161). He was at first unwilling to give up Scarborough castle (162), but was persuaded to do so, and submitted to Henry at York. Henry also took back the royal castle of Pickering which the count had seized, and Castleton which William had held for a time (163). As some compensation Henry granted William le Gros the manor of Driffild in the East Riding for life (164). The taking back of Yorkshire meant the end of the title of earl of York, for it does not appear ever to have been used by William in his charters in Henry's reign (165). Nevertheless Henry II was not vindictive towards Stephen's supporters, and the two men, king and count, must have been on reasonable terms, for two of William le Gros's charters

in Henry's reign were dedicated "for the soul of Henry II and his son Henry the young king" (166).

For the rest of his life William le Gros appears to have played little part in national affairs. After the death of Archbishop William Fitz Herbert in 1154, Roger Pont L'Eveque was elected. The now ageing count seems to have been devoted to Archbishop Roger. Many of Count William's charters are addressed to "all sons of Holy Church, clerk and lay", or an equivalent religious formula (as opposed to the "lay" formula of those addressed to "sheriff, barons, all men French and English"). Sixteen out of the forty-one known charters of le Gros begin with the religious formula (167). Seven of le Gros's charters are addressed expressly to the archbishop (sometimes with the dean and chapter of York named also) and of these seven, three charters name Roger (168). No other archbishop was personally addressed in this way by the count or his successors. Archbishop Roger was also appointed by le Gros (together with the dean and chapter) as custodian of the count's leper hospital near Hedon, to protect and control the house and to appoint priests there (169). Another link between the two men was that it was at Aumale that Archbishop Roger was absolved in 1171 for his part in the coronation of Henry the young king (170). Perhaps it was the strong influence of Archbishop Roger that made the count devote more and more of his remaining years to the foundation and support of religious houses.

In 1159 William le Gros paid the crown part of a debt of 500 m. for some unspecified reason, and the next year it was recorded that he was not to be summoned for the remainder of the debt as he was overseas (171). He did not return a carta in 1166 to the royal inquiry about knight service (172). About 1168 or 1169, after the death of William Fossard, the count of Aumale was given by the king the custody of his son and heir, William Fossard II, who held lands in the North Riding. While in the count's household, however, Fossard is said to have seduced the count's sister, and escaped abroad, where he remained for the rest of the count's life (173). The chronicler of Meaux recorded that in revenge William received the king's permission to destroy Fossard's castle of Montferraunt near Birdsall in the East Riding. The timber from the wooden castle was used to build some of the earliest buildings of Meaux abbey, a "great house" of which the upper floor was the oratory, the lower a dormitory (174). Certainly the count of Aumale held some of the Fossard lands in the North Riding until his death (175).

William le Gros spent part of the last decade of his life on his



Ms. Doosworth. 7. Fol. 40<sup>r</sup>.

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3. Seal of William le Gros, count of Aumale. Appendix A, No. 15.  
A 17th-century drawing of the original, probably by Roger Dodsworth.  
The original seal is not now known to exist.

Oxford, Bodleian Library



Norman lands. In 1171 the archbishop of York was absolved at Aumale for his part in the coronation of the young king, and in May of the following year Gilbert Foliot was also absolved there (176). The lands of the county of Aumale suffered in the great rebellion of 1173-1174: in the summer of 1173 the counts of Flanders, and Boulogne, Henry the young king and the king of France invaded Normandy. The castle of Aumale was captured on 29 June, and with it the count was taken, and many of his knights and serjeants. The count was forced to ransom himself (177). It was said that William had first vacillated and then had betrayed the castle to the count of Flanders, so that all those supplies which the old king had sent him were captured also (178).

In 1177 Count William le Gros witnessed the Spanish award, at a council held at London (179). This was his last recorded public appearance, and after being count for fifty years he died on 20 August 1179 (180), and was buried at the earliest of his foundations, Thornton abbey in Lincolnshire (181).

The seal of William le Gros is only known from a 17th century drawing by Roger Dodsworth. It shows an equestrian figure, with helmet and a long shield, carrying a lance or spear and pennant: possibly a reference to the service the Aumales owed the archbishop of Rouen, of serving with ten knights and being the "signifer" on the archbishop's expeditions (182).

William's behaviour during the anarchy was typical of many of his contemporaries. He was, at least, consistent in his support of Stephen; but he took full advantage of the weak government to extend his territories and disregard civil and ecclesiastical law. But like others of his age, his belligerence and power-seeking was tempered by piety, or fear of the consequences of his sins. Perhaps he experienced a definite change of heart in the middle of his life, for he became a great benefactor of many religious houses, the greatest of all the counts. After succeeding his father, William's first recorded act was to carry out his father's wish to make the Benedictine house of St Martin d'Auchy at Aumale, previously dependent on St Lucian de Beauvais, into an abbey (183). Five years later he confirmed to the abbey three churches which his father had given (184). After this time no new grants were made by the counts to French or Norman houses, which is significant: even before the loss of Aumale to the kings of France the counts' real interests appear to have moved to England.

As earl of York (1138-1155) William le Gros confirmed gifts to

Bridlington (185) and to the hospital of St Peter's York (186). Between 1147 and 1154 he made a grant to Bridlington for repair of an injury he had done to them (187). William of Newburgh suggests that it was in repentance for the sacking of Bridlington priory during the civil wars that the count became such a great benefactor to religious houses (188).

So far William le Gros had merely followed the pattern of his father's endowments. But in 1139 (not in the securer days of Henry II when a man might repent his actions in the civil war, but in the middle of the time when "God and his angels slept") he founded a house of Augustinian canons at Thornton in Lincolnshire, colonised by twelve men from Kirkham in Yorkshire. Perhaps it was at this time that William asked his relative Waltheof, prior of Kirkham, to give him lands in return for the archbishopric of York. In 1148 Thornton was made an abbey (189). For their part in furthering the cause of the Augustinian canons, the arms of the counts of Aumale can still be seen on the ruined gateway at Kirkham in the East Riding. William le Gros was subsequently buried at his first foundation of Thornton.

Between 1148 and 1154 William le Gros was co-founder of the Gilbertine house of North Ormsby in Lincolnshire (190). In 1147 he transferred his interests to the Cistercians, and founded a house at the principal castle of his Lincolnshire lands, Castle Bytham, which was later moved to Vaudey nearby (191). Then on 1 January 1151 the Cistercian house of Meaux was founded in Holderness, on demesne land that the count had just acquired to make a hunting park. The foundation of Vaudey and Meaux must be seen as part of the new resurgence of the Cistercian order under St Bernard. Count Odo favoured the Benedictines: Count Stephen the Cluniacs: Count William in his long life favoured first the Austin canons, briefly the Gilbertines, and finally and most fervently the Cistercians. He also founded in Holderness a hospital for lepers at Newton, near Hedon (192).

Meaux was the first monastery to be founded in Holderness, before or after the Conquest. Perhaps only the Cistercians could be enthusiastic about its flat marshy plains, the land that Count Odo complained would only grow oats. Although other religious bodies had held land in





4. Aerial photograph of Meaux abbey, from the north east. The abbey church can be seen in the centre, with the cloisters to the south. The small building top of centre houses the excavation finds of the abbey, and may be the abbey's water mill, reconstructed after the Dissolution.



Holderness before Meaux came, they probably spent as little time as possible there: in the words of the Meaux chronicler, at the foundation of the abbey "the local men came to [the monks] from all around, some to help, some to monastic life. The simple folk wondered at the cowed band ... for before there was no monastery in that island"(193).

Two accounts are known of the foundation of the abbey. William le Gros had made a vow to go to Jerusalem, which from his age and weight he was unable to fulfil. Already founder of several religious houses in Normandy and England, he met at his latest foundation of Vaudey in Lincolnshire a Cistercian monk from Fountains called Adam, who was working on the buildings there, having already been involved in work at Kirkstead and Woburn. Adam promised the count that he would obtain absolution from the count's vow to go to Jerusalem, if the count would found another Cistercian abbey. Adam inspected the count's estates, and chose a site in Holderness called Meaux, which the count had a few days before obtained from John de Meaux in order to make a park. The count had already begun to enclose the west side with a bank and ditch, still called Parkdike when the Meaux chronicle was written in the late 14th century.

On the site, which was described as four miles in circumference, the count of Aumale built a dwelling house, a dorter downstairs and a chapel upstairs, made of mud, to receive the first monks: and on 1 January 1151 (new style) the statutory number of twelve monks and Adam as their leader came from Fountains, the mother house, to live at Meaux. The village of Meaux was obliterated by the building of the north grange, and no-one was thereafter allowed to build within half a league of the abbey (194). From this time on the Cistercian order dominated Holderness, as it dominated the whole of rural Yorkshire.

William le Gros seems to have done surprisingly little in Henry II's reign, but if he was too old and too fat in 1150 to go to Jerusalem, his later life must have been very sedate. The chronicler of Meaux draws a touching picture of the count, going to and fro across the Channel on military affairs, and being reassured during a rough passage by the thought of the prayers being put up for him in St Martin d'Auchy, Thornton, Vaudey and Meaux as in house after house the men of religion rose to keep their hours (195). Probably the count divided his time between his Norman and English estates; in England his wife inherited, towards the end of William's life, the barony of Copeland (196).

It is in William le Gros's long tenure of the title of count of Aumale that the framework of the administration of the honour can first be clearly seen. Probably because of the frequent absences in Normandy of the counts, the administration was forced into greater efficiency, in the same way that the absences of the kings abroad encouraged the central government to develop into a machine that would run whether the king was present or not. The two principal officers of Holderness were the steward and the sheriff: but there were also others, chamberlains, marshals, constables, falconers, warreners and huntsmen (197).

William was the founder of a borough at Hedon and probably at Skipsea (198). He granted a commune to the town of Aumale before 1166, making it the oldest recorded Norman commune apart from Rouen (199). Perhaps this was to encourage the citizens, living in a frontier town, to organise their own defences, for such motives governed the granting of communes elsewhere in Normandy.

In his life-time, William lived through many changes of government. Henry I had governed England with a strong hand, but in Stephen's reign the more powerful members of the aristocracy, among whom the earl of York may be counted, seized for themselves many privileges. Henry II "took back Yorkshire from the earl", and thereafter the power of the central government bore more and more heavily on privileged men such as William le Gros and privileged areas such as Holderness, until the man who had been "king beyond Humber" could be sued by a woman who had bought a writ from the government (200). William does not seem to have recorded any objection to the increasing power of central government (except perhaps by not returning a carta in 1166); the protest was made in the next century by his grandson.

By the time of his death, William must have been a very old man, at least 70. He was survived by one legitimate daughter, Hawisa, who inherited all her parents' lands; he may also have had another daughter (201), and a son Geoffrey, who was illegitimate (202). It is difficult to understand why William did not find a husband for his daughter Hawisa before his death, for the heiress to such wide acres must have been greatly sought after whatever her eccentricities. It is possible that Hawisa was extremely unwilling to marry, and prevailed upon her father to allow her to remain single during his lifetime. King Henry found her a husband and she married the first of her three consorts on 14 January 1180 (203), less than five months after her father's death.

William de Mandeville, earl of Essex and count of Aumale

The death of her father in August 1179 left Hawisa, countess of Aumale in her own right, one of the England's greatest heiresses, and, as a tenant-in-chief, in the king's gift. She held the county of Aumale, Holderness, and lands in Lincolnshire and southern and eastern counties, the barony of Copeland and was soon to inherit the honour of Skipton. Although the knights' fees of these lands were few in comparison with, for instance, the 150 fees of the earldom of Essex, the honours were powerful and compact, and the knights' fees of Holderness were very large. Countess Hawisa was married three times, and to the first of her husbands, William de Mandeville, she was married without disparagement; the same can hardly be said of her other two husbands, William de Forz and Baldwin de Bethune.

William de Mandeville was earl of Essex in succession (1166) to his brother Geoffrey. Both sons of the notorious Geoffrey de Mandeville of the anarchy, they were so alike in face, in build and in speech that one could pass for the other. Possibly because of this, William spent the years of his youth out of England, at the court of Philip count of Flanders. As soon as he heard of the death of his brother, he took ship for England, where he was received by Henry II and granted all his inheritance, with the belt of his earldom, except the Tower of London (204). William was a loyal servant to Henry II, "as loyal as his father was faithless" (205), was often with the king, attesting charters and letters, and is sometimes described as being of Henry's household. He supported Henry in the rebellion of 1173-1174, when he was one of the leaders of the royal army (206).

In 1177 he set out on crusade with Philip, count of Flanders, his lord (207) and went to Jerusalem. On his return from crusade he was one of those who attended Louis VII when he came to England to visit the shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury (208).

On 14 January 1180 he was married to Hawisa at his own castle of Pleshey, Essex. According to Diceto, who described the wedding at some length, the king took a great interest in the arrangements of dower and dowry, and through his offices, the county of Aumale with all its appurtenances on both sides of the sea was conferred in dowry by the king. William de Mandeville now had two titles, that of Essex, and that of Aumale; so it was decided that he was to be called "count of Aumale" by the

royal ushers, whenever he came to court (209). He continued however to use the title of Essex frequently in his charters and attestations, Essex being a much larger earldom.

At Easter 1181 William was at Westminster with his wife, when they both confirmed by separate charters gifts to the monks of Garendon (210). Perhaps it was on this occasion also that they confirmed gifts to Rievaulx abbey (211).

William de Mandeville was frequently out of England on royal business. In 1180 he was entrusted with pay for the Flemish mercenaries (212) and in 1182 he was an ambassador to the Emperor (213). In 1186 he was sent twice as ambassador to Philip Augustus (214) and in the following year commanded a section of Henry's army in Normandy (215). In 1188 he was carrying out operations for Henry in the Vexin (216), while the Bishop of Beauvais burnt the castle of Aumale (217).

William was with Henry II during his flight from Le Mans and his last days (218). He was ordered to hold the Norman castles for John in the event of King Henry's death (220).

In 1188 William de Mandeville had taken the cross for the second time (221), but he was destined not to go on crusade again. For it was Richard's humour to reward his father's faithful friends, and in company with William Marshal, William de Mandeville reached his greatest heights after the death of his patron. He carried the crown at Richard's coronation on 3 September 1189, and fourteen days later was appointed chief justiciar in association with Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham (222). At this time he was constantly with the king (223) and it looked as if supreme power in England, which had been his father's ambition, lay within the grasp of his son. But he was not long to enjoy high office, for leaving England shortly after his appointment in November he went into Normandy on the king's business and died there in November or December (224). He left no children (225) and the earldom of Essex went to Geoffrey Fitz Peter, his cousin and the future justiciar. Hawisa countess of Aumale was once more in the marriage market.

There are not many records surviving which deal with William de Mandeville as count of Aumale (226). He confirmed gifts from Holderness to the canons of Bridlington; he granted land in Paull Holme to his

chamberlain; he confirmed gifts to Rievaulx and Garendon abbeys (227). He also confirmed gifts to Guisborough of lands and rents in Ugthorpe, part of the Aumale fee in the North Riding, which he called "de feodo meo" (228).

William de Mandeville was a great patron of the arts, the only non-royal Englishman in the list of patrons of men of letters given by Guiot de Provins in his Bible. He may also have been le cunte Willalme to whom Marie de France dedicated her Fables (229). He seems to have been acceptable to Countess Hawisa and her Holderness men, unlike the mercenary captain who was to be her next husband.



William de Forz I, count of Aumale

King Richard arranged for Hawisa to marry William de Forz (230) in the first year of his reign. But Hawisa refused to marry him, and to force her to do so, the king sent the bailiffs in. Her moveable goods were sold to the value of £115 (231) because she was unwilling to marry William de Forz. In the end she capitulated, and married him "per preceptum domini regis" (232). He was a Poitevin of obscure origins, and was as unpopular in Holderness as he was with his wife, for it is remarkable that in a succession of household officials and honorial barons who witnessed the charters of one count after another, none of those who had aided William le Gros and William de Mandeville acted for William de Forz. The Poitevin adventurers who came to England, some in Richard's reign and more in John's reign, were so unpopular with the Anglo-Norman barons that a clause of Magna Carta was devoted to their expulsion.

William was not a member of a great feudal family, and even his place of origin is uncertain. His son was later given the title "dominus de Forz" but it does not appear that Forz was of any great size or importance (233). William de Forz was a companion of Richard I from his first days as king (234) and may have known Richard from his days of ruling Aquitaine. His attraction for the king was probably his military skill. He was called "miles millies probatus in armis" by Richard of Devizes on William's marriage in 1190 (235) and this would make him one of the band of eminent soldiers of no great family background used by Richard: Robert de Turnham was another, very similar in background, who was given the marriage of the Fossard heiress in the North Ridings; ~~as was Andrew~~ de Chauvigny, married to the Chateauroux heiress. All three of these men accompanied Richard on the Third Crusade, and Robert de Turnham, like William de Forz, commanded part of the fleet.

William de Forz may have had some connection with the island of Oléron, although it is not possible to show that he held lands there. Oléron was a famous nursery of sailors, and the Laws of Oléron established by Eleanor of Aquitaine in England and confirmed by Richard on his return from crusade governed maritime law for centuries (236). William de Forz was certainly employed by Richard with mercenary troops (237); but it is probable that it was his skill as a naval commander which brought him to Richard's notice. In 1190 he was given a naval command (238).

The date of William's marriage is difficult to ascertain. He was not called count of Aumale by the chroniclers describing his part in the affairs of early 1190; he attests royal charters as William de Forz and not as count of Aumale in March, May, June and July 1190 (239), and he was not called count of Aumale when he was one of the pledges for Richard's treaty with Tancred, made in Sicily in October and November 1190 (240). By Michaelmas 1190 the marriage had been arranged, and had perhaps taken place, for William de Forz owed then scutage for the honour of Skipton and the fee of Aumale. "Inquirend'" was written beside this entry on the pipe roll, and then deleted (241). In the same year, also before Michaelmas, Countess Hawisa went abroad with the queen in the royal galley captained by Alan Trenchemar to Normandy, and perhaps even as far as Sicily (242). It is possible that William de Forz and Hawisa were married in Sicily.

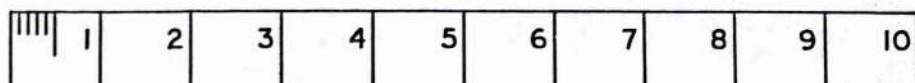
During the summer of 1190 William de Forz sailed east. To accompany his crusade, Richard I had collected ships from England, Normandy, Brittany and Poitou to sail to Palestine. By the advice of his magnates, he chose five men, one of whom was William de Forz, and put them in charge of the fleets (243). At Chinon, probably in March 1190, the king drew up a charter for his sailors, prescribing the punishments which would be given for certain specified crimes, and the navy took an oath to obey the leaders, who were to administer these "constitutiones". The fleet sailed after Easter (25 March) bound for Marseilles, where they were to meet Richard. On the way they delayed in Portugal, and helped King Sancho against the Moors. The chroniclers record that William de Forz had 33 large ships at the mouth of the Tagus; and in the whole fleet there were 106 ships (244). After a brief delay at Marseilles to refit, the fleet sailed on, and arrived at Messina in September. Richard meanwhile had travelled to Sicily by land (245), where he remained until spring 1191.

In Sicily William de Forz was a pledge for Richard in his treaty in the autumn of 1190 with Tancred (246), and to Sicily Queen Eleanor brought Richard's bride, Berengaria. Eleanor and the ladies stayed only four days and then returned home (247). Did Countess Hawisa come with the queen? Unfortunately there is no record of the countess's movements after she went to Normandy. William too is not mentioned further in connection with the crusade. It is likely that he stayed with the fleet, which was constantly with Richard in Palestine, moving in parallel with him up and down the coast.

The war of the Third Crusade ended on 2 September 1192, but many



Cms.



5. Seal of William de Forz I, count of Aumale. Appendix A, No.78.  
Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society

crusaders had left before the end. The king of France sailed for home on 31 July or 1 August 1191, and about that time many others left, including the author of the chronicles of Roger of Howden and Benedict (248). Perhaps William de Forz too left at this time, for the journey from the Holy Land to London took about eight weeks (249) and by Michaelmas 1192 he was in England, when as William de Forz, count of Aumale, he recognised before the Exchequer that he owed £100 for the arrears of the exchange of all England except Winchester, and £6 for the lands of Engelram de Munstrel (250). These sums were originally owed by Henry de Cornhill, "the organising genius of Richard's crusading fleet" (251) and a member of a famous family of administrators. William de Forz had apparently borrowed money from Henry de Cornhill and taken over the debts.

In 1193-1194 William de Forz is mentioned three times in the pipe roll carrying out work for the government. He was sent into Normandy and supplies and clothes were provided for the mercenaries who went with him (252). The next year he was with the king in the army of Normandy (253). In 1195 he died (254), leaving at least one son from his marriage with Hawisa, William de Forz II.

William de Forz I was only count of Aumale for five years, and for most of that time he was out of England. Four of his charters have survived, and none of them deals with Holderness lands (255).



Baldwin de Béthune, count of Aumale

After the death of King Henry in 1189, Richard was asked to confirm the grants which Henry had made or promised to make in his last days; and he consented in every case but one. Henry had promised to grant Châteauroux and its heiress to Baldwin de Béthune, but Richard in 1189 granted her and her fief to Andrew de Chauvigny (256). He promised to compensate Baldwin, who became one of Richard's constant companions, but it was not until 1195 that Baldwin was granted an heiress, the twice-married Countess Hawisa of Aumale.

Baldwin was a Flemish knight, of the family of the hereditary "advocates" or protectors of the church of St Vedast at Arras. The advocates of Béthune held a small fief in England, mainly in Northamptonshire; Baldwin was the third son of Robert, lord of Béthune, who was in 1178 ambassador to England of the count of Flanders and in 1179 accompanied the king of France to the tomb of St Thomas Becket (as did William de Mandeville) (257). It was more than a hundred years since Drogo had come to Holderness from the same district as Baldwin de Béthune.

In an age of heroes such as William Marshal, Baldwin de Béthune was noted for his faithfulness. As a young man he had been friend and companion of William Marshal at tournaments in France, and was a member of the circle around Henry the Young King (258). He helped to defend Le Mans and the old King Henry, when William Marshal captured Andrew de Chauvigny, Baldwin's rival (259). Subsequently he was consistently loyal to both the sons of Henry II, first to Richard and later to John. When Richard thanked his most faithful men at a famous meeting at Huntingdon for their efforts during his captivity, he is said to have remarked that he owed more to Baldwin de Béthune than to any other man. His loyalty was proverbial and he would not allow anyone to slander his friends (260).

Baldwin was with the king at Moulins-Engilbert on 5 July 1190 (261) and accompanied Richard on his crusade. At Joppa in January 1192 he witnessed a charter of Richard's (262). In December 1192 Richard with a handful of companions including Baldwin (263) were shipwrecked somewhere between Aquileia and Venice. The small party of the king and his companions tried to pass as "Baldwin de Béthune, Hugh the merchant and others" but Richard's flamboyant figure, great height and ostentatious behaviour gave him away through any form of disguise, and while the

king himself escaped at this early stage with two companions, Baldwin and the others were captured (at Freisach in Carinthia). Richard with William de l'Etang and a boy rode on to Vienna where they too were captured. Baldwin and the others were soon released, when it was found the king was not with them (264). Baldwin made his way home, and in the spring of 1193 was in England. From here he went east again, and with William Brewer attended the meeting at Worms in June 1193 between the emperor and Richard, to discuss the terms of Richard's release. He remained with the king, at Worms and Speyer, until February 1194 (265) when the first part of the agreement having been fulfilled, Richard was released. Baldwin de Béthune stayed behind as a hostage (266).

One of the terms of release had been that Richard would send his niece to marry the duke of Austria's son, within seven months of his return home. The time limit expired, and no bride arrived. The duke threatened to put his hostages to death, and the hostages agreed to send Baldwin to the king to remind him of their danger (267). He reached Richard at Chinon by 12 December 1194, and on his arrival was entrusted with the king's niece Eleanor and the princess of Cyprus to take back to Austria (268). As Baldwin returned to the duke with the ladies, about Christmas time, he heard that as a result of the amputation of a leg the duke was dead. As the duke was excommunicated, burial was refused him until the hostages given for Richard (as a crusader he should have been sacrosanct) were released. Once more Baldwin crossed Europe, a free man at last, bringing the two ladies with him.

Baldwin's journeys in the service of the king gave Richard many reasons to be grateful to him. Some time during the year 1195 Hawisa, countess of Aumale, was widowed for the second time, and King Richard gave her in marriage to Baldwin. It seems they were married at Sées, where the large sum of £207 was spent for the expenses of the count of Aumale, Baldwin de Béthune, and his countess (269).

Baldwin de Béthune served in the second and third Norman armies (270). In the summer of 1197 he was sent to Flanders to take the count of Flanders' securities for a treaty with Richard (271). Later in the year, in September and October, he witnessed charters of King Richard and John at Rouen (272). He was with the king at Caen in July 1198 and at La Roche d'Orival in August (273) when he tried with William Marshal to effect a reconciliation between the king and Hugh bishop of Lincoln (274).



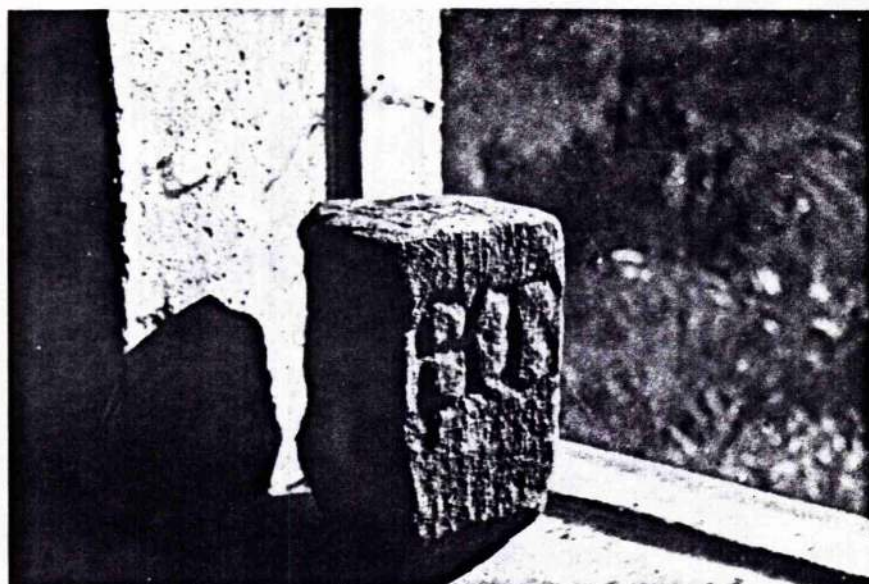


6. Seal (left) and counter-seal (above) of  
Baldwin de Béthune, count of Aumale.  
Appendix A, No.82.  
Paris, archives nationales

Baldwin count of Aumale remained in favour in John's reign, and was constantly with the king, attesting charters and letters. He served in the army in Normandy in 1199, 1201, 1206 and 1209 (275). In addition to lands Richard had given him in England in Berkshire and Oxfordshire (276), he was given lands in Northamptonshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, Kent and Bedford, he was freed from the debts of William de Forz, given licence to afforest, and granted fairs (277). These and other, later, grants may have been made as recompense for the loss of the Norman lands of the honour, for it was during the time that Baldwin was count of Aumale that the French county was finally lost. Aumale, lying on the north-eastern corner of the boundary between France and Normandy, was often captured and recaptured in the wars between the two countries.

During the king's imprisonment in Germany in 1193 (and in the last days of William de Forz I), Philip Augustus took Aumale, which he restored in January 1196 by the treaty of Louviers (278). In June or July of the same year Philip Augustus broke the treaty and besieged Aumale (279). Richard came to the rescue of Aumale (now in the possession of Baldwin de Béthune) but was defeated there (280); the castle still held. At the end of August, after a seven-week siege, the castle of Aumale finally fell to the king of France aided by the count of Flanders. Philip Augustus destroyed the castle, and Richard paid 3,000 marks to ransom the defenders (281). In 1200 a treaty between Philip Augustus and John stipulated that if John died without an heir, Prince Louis (Philip's son and heir) was to have the continental fee of the count of Aumale as dowry with John's niece. In 1204 Aumale was again taken by the French; at the time it must have appeared to be yet another temporary occupation of the much-troubled Norman frontier, yet this time Aumale was never to be recovered. Philip Augustus enfeoffed Rémy de Dammartin, count of Boulogne, with the county of Aumale in December 1204 (282). At this time Baldwin went into Normandy with his steward, Fulk de Ory, on the king's business (283). Perhaps this was to do with Aumale.

The favours of the English king showered upon Baldwin. In August 1199 he was a pledge for the king in the peace treaty with Philip Augustus (284). In October it was entered on the rolls that Baldwin should return the king's palfrey, which he borrowed at Harecurt, or pay for it (285). He



7. Part of a memorial inscription once on an arch at Meaux abbey. In 1620 the inscription read "Hic requiescit corpus Baldwini de Betonio quondam comitis Albemarle", when Roger Dodsworth visited the ruins of Meaux (see chapter 1, n.291). This was the keystone of the arch and reads E.B (for E/B/E.B/ETONIO). The stone is preserved on the abbey site.



was given, in 1202, the lands of the "vidame" of Picquigny in England and in 1203 the lands of the advocate of Béthune in England, and also the proceeds of the seventh levied on his lands (286).

The many lands which Baldwin had been given by the two sons of Henry II were not, of course, part of the honour of Aumale, so that when Baldwin's daughter married, she could be endowed with all her father's lands, and if she was Countess Hawisa's daughter, she would be entitled to a dowry from the Aumale inheritance. As Alice, Baldwin's daughter, whose marriage to the younger William Marshal was arranged in 1203 (287), apparently did not hold any lands of the Aumale fee, it is probable that she was Baldwin's daughter by a previous but unrecorded marriage.

After the loss of Normandy Baldwin de Béthune became crippled with gout, so that he was unable to walk and had to be carried, but he still acted as adviser to John. He was scornful of those who wanted to keep their Norman lands as well as their English lands and serve two masters: he is supposed to have suggested to King John that such men should be thrown into the privy (288). Nevertheless he would allow no criticism of the Marshal, who had made a private arrangement about his Norman lands with the king of France, and according to Marshal's biographer, he silenced the king of England rudely: "Be silent, it is not fitting for you or me to judge a man of the Marshal's eminence" (289).

In 1210 Baldwin went to Ireland with John, and was accompanied by his knights (290). He died in the autumn of 1212 at Burstwick in Holderness, and was buried by the door into the chapter house of Meaux (291). After his death, his widow made a fine with King John, offering him the immense sum of 5,000 marks that she might have her inheritance and her dowers, and that she might not be distrained to marry again (292). But long before the debt was paid, Countess Hawisa herself was dead (293). Her son and heir was William de Forz II.

Hawisa's three husbands became courtesy counts of Aumale during the years they were married to her. All three of them were often abroad with the reigning king, and rarely on their own estates in England. Their acts which dealt with the lands of the honour of Holderness and of Skipton should always have been made with the consent of the countess, and some of their charters contain a phrase to this effect. On at least two occasions two charters were issued simultaneously, one by the husband and one by the wife, confirming gifts (294). The earl of Essex, the most aristocratic of Countess Hawisa's husbands, seems to have been the

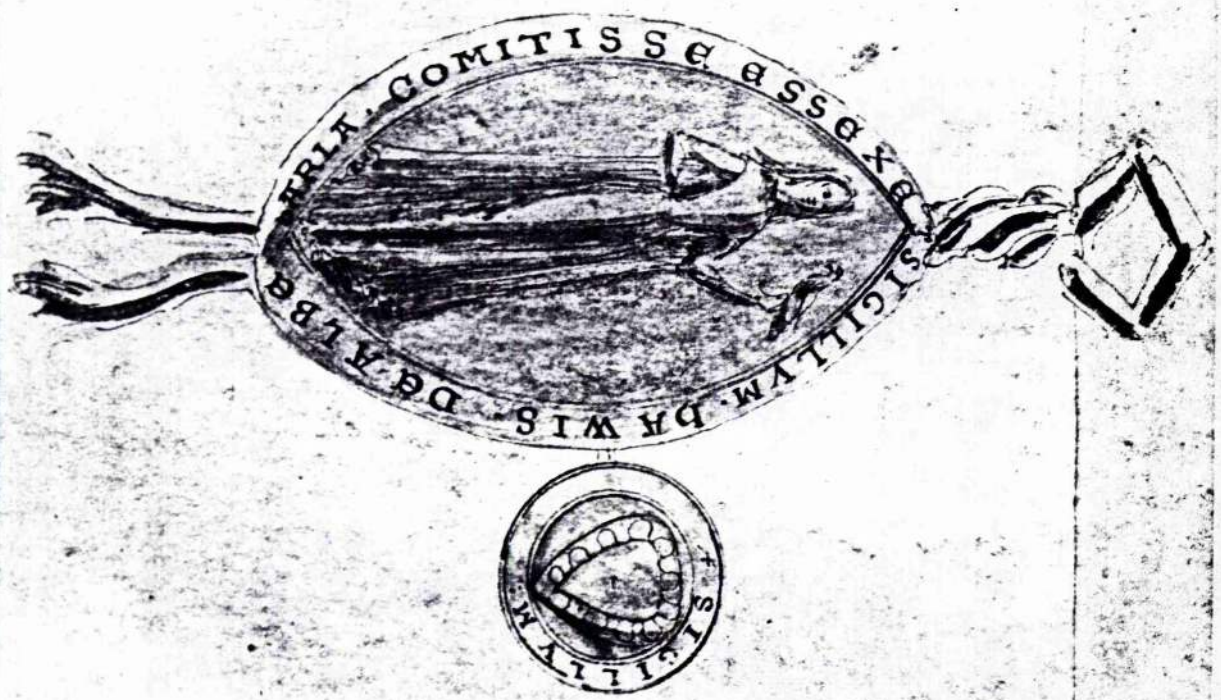
most high-handed of the courtesy counts; his charters dealing with the Aumale lands did not mention his wife's assent to the gift or confirmation. He was said by the jurors of the hundred to have enfeoffed Walter de Coleville with the manor of Bytham, Lincolnshire, for the service of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  knights (295). If this statement is true, it was a very strange thing for William to have done, for Bytham was the caput of the south Lincolnshire lands of the honour, and there was at Bytham a castle held by William le Gros in 1141. As William de Mandeville only held Bytham by the courtesy of England (that is, by his marriage), he had no right to alienate such an important part of the honour. It was over the possession of Bytham that William de Forz II was at loggerheads with the government in the early years of Henry III.

There is no record of William de Forz I's involvement in Holderness affairs. There is more evidence to connect Baldwin de Béthune with Holderness. He was married to Hawisa for longer than either of his predecessors, and owing to the deterioration of the position in Normandy, he probably spent more time in England. Four of his seven charters were made in association with his wife (296). Most of these were confirmations of earlier gifts, and one was a gift of 100s. worth of land in Linton in Craven to the monks of Meaux, which Baldwin gave them with his body (297). He also left the monks goods in his will, which they had some difficulty in obtaining from his executors (298).

Baldwin had earned the monks' gratitude earlier. In 1197 he had sent letters with the abbot of Meaux to Robert de Turnham in Anjou, asking him to return Wharram grange (299). Later the monks had been forced to disperse owing to the extreme poverty of their house under King John, the abbot having annoyed the king so much that he fined Meaux 1000 marks. Baldwin de Béthune, who was in Craven at the time of the dispersal c.1210 (probably at Skipton castle), hurried to Meaux and took the monks into his house at Burstwick, until the king's anger should moderate (300).

This is the first mention of the counts' manor house at Burstwick (it is never called a castle) which became the principal manor of Holderness for the remainder of the middle ages and beyond. There was a park here in the time of William le Gros (301) and by 1260 two parks, north and south, containing deer (302). It was a more natural centre





8. Seal (above) of Hawisa countess of Aumale (Paris, archives nationales), and drawing (above) of her seal and counter-seal from The Book of Seals (Northamptonshire County Record Office). Appendix A, Nos. 66, 68.

for Holderness than Skipsea, the castle of the Conquest, connected as Burstwick was with the Humber by waterways. As it was no longer possible, in Baldwin de Béthune's time, to live in the castle at Aumale, he spent more time in Holderness and in Craven. He may have been responsible for building the manor house at Burstwick or improving an existing one. The castle at Skipsea was ordered to be destroyed in 1221, and although castle-guard was paid to it thereafter, there is no record of the castle being lived in after 1221 (303).

For a short time, from the day she made a fine with John in November 1212 to her death in March 1214 (304), Countess Hawisa had sole control over her inheritance, and during this time she issued charters of gift and confirmation (305). Of these the most interesting is a grant to Fulk de Oyry, her chief official, of quittance from suits and fines, free passage of the Humber, and free warren in the land he held in Dunnington, Holderness (306).

Hawisa, countess of Aumale, was one of the rare company of women of her time whose character was so forceful, that even after the passage of centuries her individuality stands out. It is not her beauty which the chronicler noticed, although time and time again this is the only description which is given of some great lady. Of Hawisa, Richard of Devizes observed "a woman, who was almost a man, 'cui nihil virile defuit preter virilia'" (307). This seems to be the key to her character: a masculine woman, with a strong distaste for marriage.

Perhaps it was to show her independence that on occasion Hawisa issued a separate charter of confirmation at the same time as her husband. Two of her charters - and this is probably unique - were attested by her ladies-in-waiting (308). The names of these ladies in one of the charters show that they were the wives or daughters of tenants of her husband (309); it would be interesting to know if the ladies-in-waiting changed after his death to the wives or daughters of tenants of the next husband.

A lost story must be hidden behind the entry in the pipe roll for Hampshire in 1209, that the bishop of Winchester owed the exchequer one tun of good wine, because he did not remind the king to give a belt to the countess of Aumale (310).

The countess's seal was vesica-shaped and showed a picture of a woman (presumably the countess) standing in a long pleated robe, with a cloak. Her right hand is on her hip, and she carries a hawk with jesses on her left wrist. Four of her seals survive (311) and these are sufficient to show that she continued to use the seal she had had in the time of her first husband until the end of her life, carrying the legend "SIGILLUM HAWIS DE ALBEMARLA COMITISSE ESSEX".



William de Forz II, count of Aumale

William de Forz II, son of Countess Hawisa by her second marriage to William de Forz I, was born not earlier than 1191 and not later than 1196. At the time of his mother's death he was out of England, and apparently on bad terms with the king. Where he spent his childhood is not known, but possibly at the time of his mother's third marriage, when William must have been very young, he was returned to his father's relatives in Poitou. His Poitevin ancestry would make him a "foreigner" in the eyes of the Anglo-Norman barons, even if he did not spend his youth in Poitou.

In February 1214 King John was at Niort near the township of Fors in Poitou (312). Possibly the two men, the king and the heir to the honour of Aumale, met in Poitou at this time, or possibly negotiations were opened for the young man: later in the year William received a letter patent addressed to him as William of Aumale, in which the king wrote that at the petition of Robert de Ros, who had asked many times that William might come to England, the king had agreed that William might come and speak with him about his rights: and the king undertook his safe conduct to and in England, and his safe return if he did not do the king's will (313).

John was at this time making obvious attempts to propitiate his barons, and especially Robert de Ros, who was emerging as the leading figure in the alliance of Northerners in opposition to the king (314). Perhaps it suited John's strange sense of humour to accept William de Forz and thereby please Robert de Ros, but at the same time to make conditions that William would find it difficult to accept. It seems that John was unwilling to accept William's relief and homage, and before William was allowed to inherit, he had to agree to marry Aveline, daughter of Richard de Montfichet of Stansted, Essex (315). Once the young heir agreed, he was given many privileges, by which the crown lost several thousand pounds. In addition John gave a marriage portion with the beautiful Aveline of 40 marks a year (316). Such enthusiasm for the marriage on the king's part seems strange: Aveline as the daughter of a baron was a suitable match for William de Forz, without such a large bribe having to be offered. John was not particularly friendly with the Montfichet men, from whom he had removed the hereditary forestership of Essex, and Richard the younger, Aveline's brother, was one of the baronial party opposed to John and was to be one of the 25 barons of the Great

Charter. The large bribe offered with Aveline, a royal ward since 1203, coupled with John's reputation, leads to the suspicion that Aveline had been one of 'the king's mistresses, and that "such generosity on John's part could only be a reward for distinguished service in the royal bed" (317).

In September or October 1214 John gave back to William de Forz all his land in England of his mother's inheritance, with the proviso that he should have no receipts or profits until he had married Aveline. He was also freed from the debts of his mother, and all his relief. All the livestock which the royal bailiffs had taken from the count's lands in the interval between the countess's death and the new count's arrival was to be restored. The king added a gift of 40 marks rent annually (318). After the marriage had been celebrated, the king issued a writ that all the knights and free tenants of the land of 'the count of Aumale were to be obedient to William son of William late count of Aumale, and were to do him homage before Robert de Ros and Fulk de Ory (319); and on 4 November 1214 he was called count of Aumale for the first time (320). Early in the following year he succeeded to part of his great-aunt's inheritance, that is, the honour of Cockermouth in Cumberland and the manor of Radstone, Northamptonshire (321).

A young man with great possessions, William arrived in England and was suddenly catapulted into the midst of the northern discontent leading to Magna Carta and the ensuing civil war. He may have disliked John personally for the affair of his marriage; he was almost certain influenced by the climate of opinion in Yorkshire, and more especially by Robert de Ros, one of the Northerners, and Richard de Montfichet, his brother-in-law. He was soon involved in politics himself.

On 17 May 1215, the insurgent barons took London, and sent letters to members of the king's party, threatening them if they did not join the rebellion. Among those who were sent such letters - that is, those who were not already in open rebellion - was William count of Aumale (322). Some of the barons who received the letters left the king; and William joined the rebels in time to be one of the Twenty-Five barons and the second witness to Magna Carta in June. But he was one of 'the first of the barons to change sides again, and by August was with the king, attesting charters and being granted lands (323). He was also admitted to Scarborough castle, founded by his grandfather and now one of the strongest royal fortresses in the north, by the king's command (324).

On 20 December John set out from St Albans on his punitive expedition to the north, laying waste the countryside as he went, as a century and a half before the Conqueror had harried the north. John's company included William count of Aumale (325). Many towns including York and Beverley submitted to him and paid fines for his benevolence: many barons also made their peace with the king, but the lands of those who were obdurate were distributed among the king's friends. William de Forz's share was the castles of Rockingham and Sauvey, and the castle of William de Coleville at Bytham (326). Later the government was to maintain that Rockingham and Sauvey were committed to William only until his own lands could be returned to him, as at this time they were occupied by his enemies (327). Early in the year 1216 more and more lands of rebels were given to the young count: those of Robert de Ros in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Leicestershire; those of Saer de Sutton in Holderness; those of the king's enemies who held of his fee in Cockermouth and Allerdale (328). During March and April 1216 William was with the king and witnessed royal charters (329).

The arrival of Prince Louis of France at Thanet in May 1216 gave great encouragement to the rebel barons: many waverers began to desert John's cause to join the prince, and one of those who submitted to him at Winchester in June was the count of Aumale (330). But he never stayed on one side for very long, and this time again he soon swung back again to the king "*tamen cito rediit*" (331). During his temporary alliance with the baronial party his wife and sons were in John's hands, perhaps by Aveline's wish (332). By September or October William had rejoined the king. He offered his repentance and service to John, who received him "*most kindly*" (333). On 18 October he was sent with others of the king's party to talk with Hervey Belet on the king's behalf (334). The next day John was dead.

At the opening of the new reign, the count remained loyal to the young king, and even assisted the government. He was confirmed in his possession of Sauvey and Rockingham by the regent and handed over his son William as a hostage (335). He appeared frequently in the close rolls during the early part of 1217, dealing with land, taking land into the king's hands, and more commonly, being ordered to restore land to the reversi. These duties were probably due to his position as warden of



two royal castles, and the forest, lands and demesne manors attached to them. Count William was present at the main events of the somewhat desultory war between the royalists and Prince Louis; at Rye in February, at Mountsorrel in April, at Lincoln in May, and at the defeat and death of Eustace the Monk in August (336).

The treaty of Kingston found William in a strong position. He had extended his lands and power greatly during the war, as his grandfather had done in the anarchy of Stephen's reign. But with the coming of peace, and the government's decision to restore the land to its pre-war owners, William had much to lose. He had writs restoring to him seisin of all the lands he had before the war in Kent and Lincolnshire; seisin was to be given him of the manors of Driffeld and Pocklington (337).

On 23 September the count was given the lands and heir of Ernold de Forez in Loulay, near Fors in Poitou, in return for his faithful service (338).

But these grants were accompanied by other more numerous writs and letters, all ordering the count to give up advantages he had won, to restore seisin, to return the prisoners kept by him, to release Robert Fitz Walter (one of the great rebel leaders) (339) to release hostages taken for Rannulf son of Robert (340), to release Gilbert de Gant in return for hostages or bring him to the council (341), and to restore to the king of France's merchants corn taken by the count's men at Hedon (342).

For the first months of the new reign William seems to have behaved well, and to have been in a position of trust, keeping prisoners, confiscated lands, and royal castles. But the return of peace meant that the men deprived of lands which they had held before the war could claim to be re-seised of them. One of the count's tenants, William de Coleville, who had been on the baronial side, demanded the return of his lands and castle at Bytham, Lincolnshire. On 3 November 1217, Count William de Forz was ordered to return the castle, and if he would not, be at court at Westminster to show why not, because he had already had two royal letters to this effect (343). For the time being the matter was allowed to remain in abeyance, although the count kept the castle. There were other affairs in which his recalcitrance was more worrying to the regent. The count was ordered in February 1218 to give up the castles of Rockingham and Sauvey, and all royal manors he held in Northamptonshire, as his own lands had been restored to him (344), but he did not. During the same year, 1218, a projected marriage between the son of the earl of Salisbury and the daughter of William de Forz II was broken off: the earl wrote to the justiciar explaining this, and making it clear that if the count caused trouble in England, the Salisbury family was in no way involved (345).

William already had a reputation for trouble, and Salisbury knew there was more to come.

In the summer of 1219 the young count took part in (and perhaps was the chief organiser of) a forbidden tournament at Brackley, and for this was excommunicated by the legate; he also caused alarm by fortifying the castles which he was unlawfully detaining, and storing them with corn (346). At last the government, which had first ordered the return of the castle in February 1218, took action: on 30 November the sheriffs of Lincolnshire, Cumberland, Lancashire, Rutland, Leicestershire and Yorkshire received letters listing the count of Aumale's offences against the Crown, and warning the men of the shires not to lend William any aid, counsel or help (347). Somehow William managed to make his peace with the legate, perhaps by vowing to go on crusade; and still he kept the castles (348).

In May 1220 after his coronation, the young King Henry went to York to meet Alexander, king of Scots, and to arrange a marriage between Alexander and one of Henry's sisters (349). The count of Aumale was at York, as befitted a great northern magnate with interests on the borders, and he was one of those who swore to see the treaty observed (350). On the way south from York, the king, Hubert de Burgh and Peter de Roches went to Rockingham, and there Fawkes de Breauté was ordered to prepare for the siege of Rockingham castle (351). The royal party sent messengers to the count, ordering him to surrender the castles once more: and faced with the king in person, William gave up Rockingham and Sauvey.

There must have been great relief at this bloodless victory. Every effort was made to soothe William's feelings, and to save his face. On 29 June letters patent were issued stating that the count had given up the castles of his own free will (352). The king quitclaimed to him all the farm he owed for the demesne manors and forests that he had held with the castles: and promised that he would help mediate in a quarrel between the count and the monks of Holm Cultram, and that he would persuade the legate not to compel the count to go on crusade immediately (353). But the count had been defeated, and this loss of the two castles of Rockingham and Sauvey may have been one of the grievances he kept against the government.

During the Lincolnshire eyre of 1218-1219 six writs of novel disseisin had been brought against the count of Aumale. Neither the count nor his bailiff came to offer a defence, and the cases were taken by default. One of the cases was brought by Gilbert de Gant over Edenham church (354). Gilbert was one of the baronial party, and had





9. Aerial photograph of the earthenworks of Castle Bytham, Lincolnshire.



lately been the count's prisoner, and William may well have felt that this was justice carried to extremes. Either the count or his bailiff, Fulk de Oyry, complained to the king's court, and from the council a letter was sent to the justices in eyre. Their indignant reply to the attempt to interfere with the course of justice is preserved (355). After the original verdict, the count reopened the case by bringing a jury of 24 to convict the original jury of perjury, and it was not finally decided until Michaelmas 1220, when Count William de Forz again lost by not coming to court (356).

The question of Bytham and the surrounding lands was also brought up during this eyre. Bytham is in the south-west corner of Lincolnshire. It had been held in 1086 by Drogo de la Beuvrière, and thereafter remained in the possession of the counts of Aumale, apparently as caput of the south Lincolnshire part of their lands (357). There was a castle there by the year 1141, when Count William le Gros imprisoned a York archdeacon in his castle of Bytham (358). The jurors of the hundred reported at the end of the 13th century that Count William de Mandeville had enfeoffed William de Coleville with Bytham for the service of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  knights, that is, between 1180 and 1189 (359), and certainly William de Coleville was in possession of part of Bytham before 1185, as he gave land there to the Templars before that date (360). Bytham had never been a royal castle, and William de Forz II had some justification for his refusal to give up the castle after the Treaty of Kingston, for William de Mandeville, who had no rights in Bytham save through his wife, should never have alienated part of his wife's demesne, let alone the caput. William de Forz had been given Castle Bytham by the king at the end of 1215 (361), and he continued to hold it until 1221. William de Coleville on the other hand was a rebel and a prisoner in June 1217, when his wife was given letters of conduct to go and seek his release (362). Presumably she was successful: in September 1217 the sheriff of Lincolnshire was ordered to give seisin to William de Coleville of his lands in the shire (363), and in November the count received the third letter of a series which ordered him to return Castle Bytham to Coleville, because of the seisin he had had before the war (364).

What happened next appears from the curia regis rolls. When the sheriff received the order to give seisin, he went to the castle. But the custodian shut the castle gates and refused to let him in, whereon the sheriff gave Coleville seisin of the land outside the castle only (365). The plea of novel disseisin brought at Lincoln refers to

this land, of which William de Coleville had been disseised by the count after September 1217 (366). The matter of the castle could not be raised under a writ of novel disseisin, and was specifically excepted (367); it was probably being considered at higher levels.

William de Coleville's case was not dealt with during the Lincoln eyre of 1219. It was postponed, and postponed again, and then adjourned by order of council to a council meeting at Whitsuntide (368). It was not settled until November 1219. Fulk de Oyry, the count's bailiff, claimed that the count had seisin in war from King John: this is the only defence recorded, and was no legal defence at all. So William de Coleville won seisin of all the land he claimed except Aunby which he had not put in view (a technical requirement of the legal process) and also won damages of 50 marks (369). The castle however remained in Count William's hands.

This incident has been dealt with at some length, as it is probably the most important in a series of incidents which drove Count William to raise a short-lived, futile rebellion in 1221. Another of these incidents was the appointment of a seneschal of Poitou.

During 1220 it was proposed that Count William be sent to Poitou and Gascony as seneschal. This provoked a caustic letter from the earl of Salisbury (who had two years earlier broken off a marriage alliance with de Forz) who wrote to Pandulf, pointing out the count's disobedience in England gave no reason to expect that he would be obedient in Poitou (370). Philip de Ulecote was appointed on 16 September 1220 (371). He died however on his journey out from England (372) and William must have hoped for the appointment after all. A royal messenger was sent to the count (373) and he came to Oxford, where the court was keeping Christmas. At Oxford on Christmas Day the announcement of Hugh de Vivonne's appointment to Poitou was made, and backed by seven leading members of the king's council (374). Was this the appointment the count had come to court hoping for? He left Oxford the following day and raised rebellion in Lincolnshire (375).

No chronicler gives a definite reason for the rebellion, known as the war of Bytham: and probably William had a number of grievances against the government. There was the affair of Rockingham and Sauvey, the Lincolnshire disseisins where verdicts had been given against him, at Edenham and Bytham (both of which were scenes of fighting during his rebellion), and his excommunication for taking part in a tournament. The count was also in debt at this time, and his debts may have driven him to desperate steps (376). It has been suggested that he fled from



the Oxford council because intrigues were discovered to which he was a party (377). There may have been other causes (378), now obscured, a personal insult, an old enemy. But Bytham was the scene of the revolt, and the main cause of the rebellion was probably there also. Perhaps the appointment by the Oxford council of Hugh de Vivonne was the last straw (379).

The count attacked the castles of Newark, Sleaford and Kimbolton (380) but was repulsed. He took Edenham, and caused the corn of the canons of Bridlington (who possessed Edenham church and widespread lands there from the Gant fee) to be removed to Bytham; he also plundered Deeping and the neighbouring villages, and took prisoners whom he forced by torture to ransom themselves (381). In January he attacked Fotheringay castle which he took, helped by the cold weather (382). News of his outbreak came to Pandulf in London, and William was again excommunicated. The Worcester annalist gives a number of reasons for his excommunication: the count had taken the cross and would not redeem his vow nor go to Jerusalem, he refused to accept the judgement of the realm and return Castle Bytham to William de Coleville, he took a royal castle before he had formally defied the king, and he had behaved badly in the past (383).

The government now moved against William de Forz. On 23 January 1221 a number of writs were sent out, ordering the assembly of men, horses and arms at Northampton (384). William meanwhile had garrisoned Fotheringay, and moved to Bytham, where he provisioned the castle and spoiled the surrounding countryside. While his soldiers tortured and plundered, William issued letters sealed with his own seal to the mayors of the cities of England ordering (as if he were king) that they safe-guard all merchants (385). He was waiting to be joined by his allies, who are mentioned by two of the chroniclers (386), but no-one moved to help him. The earl of Chester promised the royalists his full support (387), and William Marshal (who had married the count of Aumale's half sister) wrote to the king to ask why he had not been summoned to the host (388).

Without any important allies, it was only a matter of time before William would be forced to surrender. His strength lay further north than Bytham, where he had only scattered estates. As the legate began to collect an impressive number of siege engines to move against the midland castles, the count abandoned his garrisons, and hurried to the north. Robert de Lexington, bound for Bamburgh (389), sent back a report on the count's movements to Hubert de Burgh. The count had passed through Nottingham on the night of 31 January, and the same night went straight

to Wellow (near Ollerton) where he rested a short time. The next day he hurried to Stainton, between Tickhill and Conisbrough in the southern extremity of Yorkshire, and stayed in the house of William de Bueles there until night. Then he armed himself, and said to the countess his wife, who rather surprisingly seems to have been with William during his brief campaign, that he would eat at Bueles's house, because he could not eat nor rest again until he reached Skipton in Craven. Robert de Lexington heard all this from one of the messengers, a spy who was riding with the count. At Stainton William de Forz left five foundered horses, because they were not worth taking any further; he was retiring in disorder. Lexington sent messengers to Newcastle and Bamburgh, to warn the castellans to be on their guard, and went himself to Northumberland (390). Orders were sent that the count's castles of Skipton, Skipsea in Holderness and Cockermouth in Cumberland were to be destroyed (391). All his bolt-holes were being stopped, and meanwhile the count's garrison in Fotheringay had abandoned their defence, and after a short siege Castle Bytham was taken and was razed to the ground. The men of the garrison were chained and sent to different prisons (392).

William's cause was now truly hopeless, and he took sanctuary in Fountains abbey. Here he was found by the archbishop of York and others, to whom William surrendered on condition that he would be replaced in sanctuary if the king would not forgive him. However, all was well for the count, who was forgiven by the king, as "he had served King John faithfully in the late war" and all his knights and serjeants were to be released without punishment, which was, as Wendover wrote, a very bad example to others (393). William's service to the late king was not notable for its fidelity, and the surprisingly happy ending to the Bytham war must have been due to reasons of state. Castle Bytham, or at least its site for it was burnt to the ground, was returned to William de Coleville (394) and, an imaginative gesture by the exchequer, William de Forz (along with the other barons of England) was charged with scutage on his knights' fees for the campaign of Bytham (395).

By May 1221 the count was sufficiently restored to royal favour to receive two royal grants: the manor of Driffild and a market at Cockermouth (396). But the trouble he caused the government was not ended yet. In 1223 he was one of many who did not serve or send their knights to the army of Wales, and assets on his lands in Lincolnshire, Rutland and Yorkshire were seized (397). In November of that year

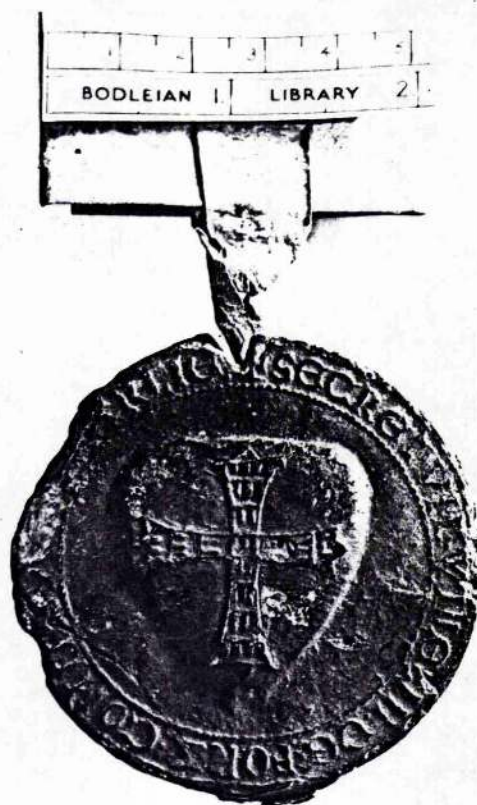
William was mentioned as one of those who were with the earl of Chester, Fawkes de Breauté and others, when they made a hostile demonstration against the Tower of London. On the approach of the king they fled to Waltham, and Archbishop Langton persuaded them to see the king. They protested that they only wanted to remove Hubert de Burgh from the government. Aumale and Chester gathered their forces at Leicester, but when they had learnt that the king's forces were larger, they agreed to make peace. They surrendered their castles and honours to the king, and both sides kept Christmas at Northampton (398).

Now the young king began to rule for himself: but the opposition to Hubert de Burgh remained. Fawkes de Breauté broke into open rebellion, and although the earl of Chester, the count of Aumale and others of the opposition went with the king's army to the siege of Bedford, their loyalty was suspect (399). After Fawkes's fall and exile, William was one of those who strove for his reconciliation with the king (400).

After Fawkes's rebellion, William played a more responsible part in public affairs than he had done before. He witnessed the reissue of the Great Charter in 1225 (401) and that year received a grant to maintain him in the royal service (402). In February 1227 he was high in royal favour. He was confirmed in his liberties of Holderness, which he had held until the war between the king and his barons: the sheriff of York was directed to see that all his military tenants who were of age became knights, and he was pardoned the Bytham scutage (403). The sheriff was also ordered to give him seisin of the manor of Bolton in Craven (404). In the autumn of 1227 he was sent to Antwerp to treat with the envoys of the emperor (405). In January 1230 he was at a meeting at Westminster of eight of the king's barons and the king, who decided that tallies made before the war should be allowed (406). The count went to Poitou in 1230 with the king, and then to Brittany, where the barons, who were supposed to be on a campaign, amused themselves "as though they were at a Christmas party" (407). The count of Aumale stayed behind when the king went home in October (408). He was back in England by September 1231 when he was given three deer (409). The following year he was supposed to go to Monmouth for the king, and in anticipation was given some wine; but as he did not go, the gift was revoked (410).

In 1236 William de Forz again tried to regain Castle Bytham from the Coleville family, this time through the law court: but Roger de Coleville pleaded successfully that the writ was wrongly worded, as it ignored the dower already granted from the land and the





10. Seal (above left) and counter-seal (above right) of William de Forz II, count of Aumale (Magdalen College, Oxford). Below, counter-seal and seal of the same count from The Book of Seals (Northamptonshire Record Office). Appendix A, Nos. 96,112.

grant of the advowson (412). The suit was withdrawn and no further attempt was made to retrieve Bytham from the Colevilles. William de Forz was asked to attend the colloquium to deal with Prince Llewellyn of Wales in 1237 (413); and the same year was made custodian of the lands of the late earl of Chester (in which William's son had an interest) until division of the lands could be made (414).

In the autumn of 1239 Aveline the count's wife died, and she was buried at Thornton abbey, Lincolnshire (415). In the spring of 1241 Count William set out on his long-deferred journey to Jerusalem, which he had promised to make as early as 1220. He died on his way, beside the Mediterranean, on 29 March, being unable to eat for eight days before he died (416). He was succeeded by his son William de Forz III.

William de Forz II is to be found issuing charters which dealt with all the main parts of his estates, in Holderness, Skipton, Cumberland and Lincolnshire. Most of these are confirmations of earlier gifts by members of his family, or confirmations of gifts of his tenants. One charter recorded the enfeoffment of Peter de Fauconberg with 11 bovates of the count's demesne in Elstronwick in Holderness, in marriage with the Countess Aveline's sister Margaret (417). Peter de Fauconberg was one of William's principal tenants in Holderness and was probably with him in the Bytham war (418). Another of his charters dealt with lands which had been given to the count by Magister Galfrid Gibwin, described as a nobleman from southern England, in exchange for land which Gibwin had held from William's great-aunt (419).

It is difficult to say whether the count ever lost possession of Holderness during the troubles of his youth. He lost some of his lands to the king's enemies during 1214-1215, when he was granted other lands, but which did he lose? He seems to have lost possession of Driffild and Pocklington, both of which he was resealed in 1217 (420). Orders of reseiin were also sent to the sheriffs of Lincolnshire and Kent (421). The writ sent in 1227 stating that William count of Aumale was to hold his wapentake of Holderness with all liberties and free customs as his ancestors did in the times of Henry II, Richard and John, until the war between the king and his barons (422) suggests that the liberties had been imperilled, or perhaps confiscated, either in the war following Magna Carta, or in the Bytham war.

The part that some of the count's men played in the wars of 1214-1215 and 1221 can be discerned. Of these the most interesting career is that of Fulk de Cyry, steward to Baldwin de Béthune, Countess Hawisa and William de Forz II (423). There are also men such as Geoffrey Wind, the



count's man, who was arrested by Geoffrey de Neville's men and whose release King John sought in March 1216 (424); in 1221 he was pardoned for having been at Bytham, and raiding round about before the siege (425). Another companion, William de Bueles, held lands in the Ile d'Oléron, and lands of the honour of Tickhill in South Yorkshire: it was in his house that the count sheltered on his ride north in 1221, and William de Bueles was ordered to leave England soon after the siege (426).

William de Forz II must have been a very unpleasant young man. He was very unreliable, and even in a time of conflicting loyalties, changed sides quicker than most. The only possible consistency that can be discerned in his early years is in opposition to Hubert de Burgh, and after de Burgh's fall the count settled down. William was treated with great consideration by the government during the early years of Henry III's reign, and indeed he was forgiven so much, so readily, that it seems he must have had some real grievance, though exactly what this was is not clear. It is interesting to compare the rebellion of Fawkes de Breauté and his brother, in many ways similar to the Bytham war, with William de Forz's outbreak. Like Forz, Breauté had disregarded royal writs, and refused to give up a castle acquired from John in time of war. Fawkes considered, and with more justification than William de Forz, that his loyal service to the Crown had earned its reward. But the siege of Bedford had a more savage ending than the siege of Bytham: William de Breauté and his knights were hanged, and Fawkes was disinherited, and sent into exile.

As well as being treacherous, William was very inefficient in his early years. He entered into his inheritance with the enormous advantage of not having to pay his relief, and he was also freed of his mother's debts and various other sums. But by 1226 he owed money to the Jews (427) and he was heavily in debt to the exchequer by 1231 (428), debts which he left to his son. Another side of his inefficient administration is shown in his early law-suits. He lost every case but one, which was ended by a fine; and most of them were lost by carelessness or recalcitrance, as neither the count nor his bailiff came, and the cases went by default (429).

William de Forz III, count of Aumale

William de Forz, third of that name, was born before 17 December 1216, when his father gave up his eldest son William as a hostage. He was probably one of the little boys who were sent with their mother to Devizes castle some months earlier (430). If he continued to be a hostage for his father's good behaviour, his early life must have been uneasy: but nothing is known of him until his marriage which, taking place before 1234, was to Christiana, one of the three daughters of Alan of Galloway and Margaret, eldest sister of John the Scot, later the earl of Chester (431).

This was a marriage which might have had a profound effect on Scottish history. Alan of Galloway was a neighbour of the count of Aumale in Cumberland, and for both fathers the match was advantageous. Christiana inherited most of Galloway from her father, and eventually became one of the co-heiresses of the earldom of Chester through her mother. The possessions of the Aumales at this time were of immense extent. Had Christiana produced male children, their claim to the throne of Scotland would have been better than that of John Balliol. The importance of these three co-heiresses of Galloway in Scottish politics is shown in the treaty made at York in 1237, between the king of England and the king of Scots, in which the three husbands, William de Forz, John Balliol and Henry de Hastings were numbered among the fourteen who took the oath to observe the treaty on behalf of the king of Scots (432). But the count of Aumale and his wife Christiana quitclaimed their right to the earldom of Chester for two manors: and Christiana dying without any children, her lands returned to her family, represented by her sister Devorguilla, wife of John Balliol, and her potential claim to the throne of Scotland was never realised (433).

In 1235 Alan of Galloway died, and war broke out in Galloway; there was a party there which supported the succession of Alan's bastard son, but this party was defeated by Alexander II, king of Scots, who after a victory in April 1236 enforced the division of the inheritance between the three daughters (434). Christiana was the eldest daughter, and with her husband received a large part of Galloway, which they ruled until Christiana's death in 1246 (435).

No sooner were the lands of Alan of Galloway partitioned, than the next problem arose. John earl of Chester and Huntingdon died, shortly before 6 June 1237, and left no male heir. Christiana was the senior co-heir of Chester, as she was the eldest daughter of the late Earl John's

eldest sister (436). On her behalf William de Forz claimed that the earldom of Chester was as a palatinate impartible, and that he should by right of his wife be both earl of Chester and the holder of all the lands of the earldom. The king was anxious for the earldom to fall into abeyance and for the lands to return to the Crown. During the negotiations by all the potential heirs, the lands of the earldom in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire and Essex were committed to William de Forz II, count of Aumale, the father of the claimant (437), until partition should be made.

William de Forz's claim to the entire earldom was heard and determined at Westminster, by a body "practically equivalent to a Parliament" (438). There had never been a case quite like it before. William's right to the title of the earl of Chester was never called in question; but over the partition of lands he was defeated. The court decided that the honour was to be divided, and the heiresses were to have their reasonable shares. However, while the case was in progress, the king had been negotiating with the other co-heiresses, and had offered them, in exchange for their part of Chester's fee, lands elsewhere. They all agreed to the exchange, and then the king turned his attention to William de Forz.

William was the earl of Chester. He was entitled to a quarter, or half of a third (439) of the lands of the earldom. Yet in 1241 he and his wife released all their right to lands, tenements, customs, liberties and the title of the earldom, in exchange for two manors, and a remittance of a rent he was due to pay every year. It seems to be a very bad bargain, an incredible one for the young man to make. Stewart Brown (440) suggests as an explanation the uselessness of a title without wide lands, the burden of the feudal obligations of Chester with the necessity of defending the Welsh marches. But even half of a third of the earldom was a large and valuable composite fee, far more valuable than the two manors William received in exchange. These were Driffeld in Yorkshire and Finedon in Northamptonshire: he was also released from £30 rent he owed at the exchequer each year for the manor of Pocklington in Yorkshire and confirmed in his possession of Dartford in Kent (441).

The bargain appears even more extraordinary, when the history of Driffeld is considered. It was crown demesne, held by the crown since before the conquest of 1066, and as such tallaged by the crown. But the counts of Aumale had already held Driffeld intermittently over a

period of many years, and could thus be considered to have a prescriptive right to the manor (442).

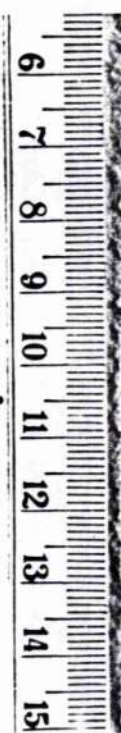
It was in October 1241 that William and Christiana de Forz finally quitclaimed their rights to the earldom of Chester (443), and by this time William had succeeded his father as count of Aumale. In the spring of 1241 William de Forz II left for the Holy Land, and died on 29 March. Word came back to England slowly, for it was not until the autumn that William de Forz III was authorised to have seisin of all his father's lands, as the count had held them on the day he left for Jerusalem (444). He was to pay £100 relief (445). The king had taken his homage by 18 September 1241, and the eschaetor was ordered to give William de Forz son of William de Forz all lands, tenements and castles that he held in chief, that is, the castles of Cockermouth, Skipton in Craven, and Skipsea in Holderness (446).

In 1242 William accompanied Henry on his expedition to Poitou (447), and in 1245 he was in the army of Wales (448). The following year his wife Christiana died, without any surviving children (449). The lands she had held in exchange for her share of the earldom of Chester were inherited by her sister Devorguilla: and William married again in 1248, another great heiress, Isabella de Redvers, daughter of the earl of Devon, and ultimately (though after William de Forz's death) countess of Devon and suzerain of the Isle of Wight and of the estates of Harewood in the West Riding (450).

In 1251, and perhaps in other years, William de Forz III was a justice of the forest for Cumberland (451). His northern possessions and his Scottish connections by his first wife made him a useful mediator with the Scots, and he was one of the pledges for the treaty at York in 1237 (452) and was sent on an embassy to Scotland in 1255 (453). He was also made sheriff of Cumberland in 1255, and keeper of Carlisle castle at the same time (454), and remained in those offices until his death.

In 1252 William was ordered to stay out of the quarrel between the archbishop of Canterbury and Aymer de Lusignan, bishop elect of Winchester (455). The following year he became surety for the Lord Edward in a debt of 1,000 marks due to the earl of Leicester (456). He was also distrained for his own debts (457), a fate which often beset the counts of Aumale. In 1257 William was called to the army against Llewellyn of





11. Seal (left) and reverse of seal (right) of William de Forz III, count of Aumale, from Paris, archives nationales (D 10093). Attached to a peace treaty of 1259.

Wales (458) but paid scutage instead, because he was ill and could not go (459).

William took a prominent part in the events of 1258. He was made one of the fifteen sworn councillors of the king by the Provisions of Oxford and was one of the twenty-four elected to treat of the king's aid (460). He was one of the escorts chosen to ensure that the Lusignan brothers left England safely (461). In March of the following year he was a member of Gloucester's reactionary party, and was one of those who made a pact with the Lord Edward (462). He was appointed with Humphrey de Bohun as special procurator to help the king keep the peace with France (463) and went to France with the king in the autumn. He was at Paris during December 1259, and in January 1260, and at St Omer with the king in February (464). In May 1260 he was in France on legal business (465) and died there on 23 May, at Amiens. The count was buried in Thornton abbey at the feet of his mother, and his heart was buried at Meaux in the presbytery next to his daughter (466). By his second wife William left numerous children: William, Teron, Thomas, John, Avise and Aveline are named in the Chronicon Cumbriae (467).

Most of William de Forz III's surviving charters are confirmations to religious houses. He was a helpful patron for the abbey of Meaux and aided them on several occasions, in cases over Wawne and Tharlesthorpe in Holderness (468). He gave the monks land in the island in the Humber called Ravenser Odd (469). At his death he left Meaux half his "chapel" and 100 marks: the other half and another 100 marks went to Thornton abbey (470).

Although more is known of William de Forz III than of any of his ancestors (owing to the increased number of surviving records) he remains, as an individual, the least interesting of his line. His inherited position as a great northern baron was such that he would be obliged to take part in government, whether he wished to or not; and it is perhaps for this reason that he was elected as a member of the Council of Fifteen in 1258, and was given his other administrative and diplomatic tasks. He was involved in a number of law suits, but in none of them can any sign of the count's character be seen. A rousing hunting story is told of him in one Yorkshire assize roll (471), but eventually it was conceded that the count was not there in person. He never shows the

strong individualty of his ancestors: in particular his meek resignation of the earldom of Chester argues a docile nature. Perhaps in the last count of Aumale the vigour of his line was lost; perhaps he was a sick man, as all his children died young.



### The end of the line

When the writ went to the eschaetor on 12 June 1260, that William de Forz count of Aumale "viam universe carnis est ingressus" (472), there were still several of the count's children left alive. The heir to the count's estates was Thomas, aged about six. The estates and heir came into the king's hand for the duration of his minority (473). In August 1260 Countess Isabella, the widow of the late count, was given her dower lands and the wardship, but not the marriage, of her sons Thomas and William, while the remaining two-thirds of the Aumale estates, and the marriage of the heir, were granted to the Lord Edward: the two-thirds of Holderness which Edward held were the following year bought from him by Isabella in conjunction with her mother Amicia, countess of Devon (474). The two countesses administered Holderness together with the executors of William de Forz III until they quarrelled, and submitted their dispute to the king. At one stage of the quarrel Holderness was apparently confiscated by the crown. The case was never finally settled, but at Easter 1274 the countesses were formally reconciled (475). But before this date all the sons of William de Forz III and Isabella had died, and the one surviving child and heiress, Aveline, was married to Edmund Crouchback, the king's son, in Westminster abbey (476). Early in 1273 Aveline was declared of age (477) and the sheriffs of seven counties were ordered to give seisin to Edmund and Aveline (478). The young countess soon followed her brothers and sisters to the grave, dying on 10 November 1274 (479). She was buried in Westminster abbey, where she had been married so little time before, and her tomb can still be seen there on the north side of the high altar. The king's eschaetor took Holderness and the other lands of the honour, all except the old countess's dower, and Countess Isabella de Forz lived on alone, having survived all her children, until 1293 (480).

After Isabella's death, various claimants appeared for the Aumale estates (481). John de Eston was one claimant, who said he was descended from Avise, a daughter of William le Gros, otherwise unrecorded. The other claimants were Philip de Wyvelesby, who claimed to be descended from Simon, William le Gros's younger brother; the heirs of Peter de Brus, who claimed to be descended from le Gros's sister Agnes; and the heirs of Amabel (482) wife of Reginald de Lucy. A jury found in



favour of John de Eston, although it has been suggested that John's claim was put forward at the King's suggestion, and was based on fantasy rather than fact. Once the claim was established, John de Eston quitclaimed all the Aumale estates to the crown: Holderness remained a crown estate (although it was granted away, it always reverted back again)(483) until the end of the Middle Ages.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTS OF AUMALE IN HOLDERNESS

The administration of the counts of Aumale in Holderness

An attempt has been made here to piece together all that can be discovered about the administration of the counts of Aumale, from about 1112 (for there is no earlier evidence) until the last count died in 1260. "The administrative side of feudalism can only be approached through the study of individual baronial households, and the material for its study is so scattered, its chronology is so uncertain, that it has attracted few workers as yet"(1). This remains as true as when Professor Stenton wrote it in 1932.

It is fortunate that the administration of the Aumale estates after 1260 has already been described (2) and the following account of the earlier system is often illuminated by the better documentation of later practice.

There is little evidence in the archives of the involvement of the counts in their administration. They must have set up the machine, chosen the principal officers, but they were often absent from Holderness and even from England, and the machine ran itself. Nevertheless the machine could break down, as apparently it did in 1190, when William de Forz I was married to the unwilling Aumale heiress: all the administrative officers left their posts and neither they nor the last count's habitual companions ever witnessed one of William de Forz's charters. But apart from the five years of William de Forz I, the administration worked smoothly and with little change for 150 years.

Many of the men described below are shadowy figures, appearing briefly and disappearing into the unknown. But the most successful men, of which the outstanding example is Fulk de Oyry the steward, have left their imprint in the archives of their age and much can be learned of them and their rise to power. Many such studies are needed before the definitive work on administration in the feudal world can be written.

Count Odo and Count Stephen's administration (before 1130)

Nothing is known of Count Odo's household or officers, for only one of his charters has survived and that only in a much abbreviated form (3). The administrative organisation of the first post-Conquest holders of Holderness was (although unrecorded) probably very simple. From evidence elsewhere in England it can be presumed that there would be a man who brought in the dishes: a steward. There would be two men who looked after the valuables in the camera of the lord: chamberlains. The constable commanded the knights of the household, and the marshal looked after the horses. The butler was in charge of the buttery and the cellar, and the clerks wrote the necessary letters and charters. In addition sport was in the care of the falconers and warreners (4). The lord's council was made up of the principal tenants who happened to be with the count when he wished for advice or reinforcement of a decision.

As life in a great honour like Holderness became more complex it became impossible for the counts to attend to the details of administration themselves. Administrative work tends to grow of its own initiative: that is, administration begets more administrative work. Another great factor in the increasing complexity of local administration was the demands of central government which required more and more from its delegate authorities. To cope with this the counts began to use those men nearest to them in the household as their deputies. The work of the deputies tended to become more specialised (although it was apparently always possible to call on any official to carry out administrative duties) and from being originally household officers only, they became administrators in a wider sense. Nevertheless the medieval world was a very conservative world, and so the steward, the butler and the constable still retained their household titles. Some of the titles such as the butler lost their significance in the late 12th or 13th centuries and became merely surnames: but some such as the steward became very important officials. Under the Aumales the constables developed in different ways in Holderness and in Skipton: in Holderness the constable became a hereditary title and a surname for a family, who seem to have had no part in the administration, but at Skipton the constable, not a hereditary post, was the most important official in the honour. There was no fixed rule as to the comparative importance of officers in different parts of England, and the hereditary principle was also sometimes established, sometimes not. In the honour of Aumale a hereditary succession to a household office seems to have meant that the office had no real meaning (5).



The tradition of retaining the titles of officers when they had become merely honorific (which is still a feature of English society in the 20th century) did not mean however that new offices did not appear. The most obvious example of this in medieval Holderness is the post of private coroner, which was created in the early 1200s partly to deal with a number of additional duties which the central government demanded and partly to duplicate the royal administration at a local level (6).

The distinction between household and estate officials is never clearly seen in Holderness in the period before 1260, partly because so little is known of the household duties. It might be guessed, for instance, that the stewards of the later 13th century, who spent most of their time in administration, were no longer dealing with the affairs of the manor hall and kitchen, but there is no evidence of this (7).

Of Count Stephen's administration, a mere outline can be discerned through the distortions and haphazard survival of the texts (only 7 charters survive in any form, and only one is an original document)(8). What can be learnt from these however, foreshadows the known administrative arrangements of Holderness when evidence becomes more plentiful. The contention of Professor Stenton, that "the organization of a great honour seems to become more elaborate as its history is traced backwards", is not borne out by Holderness examples. In particular Professor Stenton assigned the baronial sheriff solely to an early phase of English feudalism, and believed that the sheriff of Holderness was not in existence after the time of Henry II (9). As will be seen below (10), the Holderness sheriff continued to the very end of the 13th century. All the Holderness evidence points to the conclusion that the organisation of the honour remained substantially unchanged from 1130 to 1260, and that the most characteristic features and the officers are found at both ends of the period.

Count Stephen had a council of his French and English barons, which he consulted on occasion (a gift is made "suggestionem baronum meorum") (11) and to which he addressed his charters (12). It was probably in the presence of this council that Ingelram the coiner made his grant "before the count and his barons" between 1115 and 1130 on his departure for Jerusalem (13). Such baronial councils occur constantly in the early Norman period: their presence is more difficult to discern in the 13th century. The phrase used by Count Stephen "all my barons, French and English" sounds like a formal copy of royal charters, for all Stephen's tenants in chief, in Holderness at least, appear to have been Frenchmen. It was however

customary for great lords to begin their charters in this way, although perhaps "barons and men, French and English," was the more usual form (14). On one occasion Stephen specifically addressed his barons of Holderness in words which also sound like an echo of royal charters (15). The barons witness the count's charters (16) and the same men constantly reappear in the lists, from which it is possible to learn something of Stephen's barons.

The most often named witness is William Biset, a member of a prolific Aumale family and father of Henry, Ansold and Manasser (17). The Bisets remained Norman landowners until the 13th century at least, but also played a part in English and Scottish history, being introduced into Scotland by William the Lion after his imprisonment in England (18). It was probably the same Manasser Biset who was Henry II's steward c.1155-1166 (19). Several other witnesses to Stephen's charters represent Norman families that later became Holderness landholders: the Areyns (tenants of West Hatfield and Seaton), Oyry (20), Constable of Burton Constable, de Fontanis of Long Riston, de Rotoirs (enfeoffed by Count William le Gros with land near Burstwick). Some of the same witnesses appear in the early charters of William le Gros (21). Many witnesses however are only referred to by their Christian names and cannot now be identified.

The officers named in the address of Count Stephen's charters are his steward and his sheriff (dapifer and vicecomes). The steward was always the more important of the two officers and was always addressed first; in one case he was addressed by name by the king himself (22). This pre-eminence of the steward over the sheriff is a constant feature of the count's administration. The steward is named as Robert between 1112 and 1122 (23) and as Albert in a charter dated between 1115 and 1130 (24). The names of sheriffs of Count Stephen's time are not known (25).

Other officials mentioned in Stephen's charters include Albert the canon who may have been the canon resident in Aumale castle under arrangements made 1086-1096 (26), for the charter he witnessed was made at Aumale (27). Richer de Aumale the count's clerk was mentioned in the same charter. Two chamberlains, Geoffrey and Stephen, are named as witnesses in one deed of 1115-1130, the double appointment (presumably to check on each other) being a constant feature of the later household and of other honorial administrations, reflecting the organisation of the national exchequer (28).

Officers of the counts 1130-1260Stewards

Robert	}	to Count Stephen
Albert		
Peter de Ros		
Everard de Ros	}	to Count William le Gros
[Robert de Ros]		
Ivo		
William de Ottringham	}	to Count William de Mandeville
Robert Constable of Halsham		
Erald	}	to Count William de Forz I
William Brito		
Aro de Beauchamp		
Walter de Heselton	}	to Count Baldwin de Béthune and Hawisa
Philip de Langbar		
Fulk de Oyry		
Alan de Hyde	}	to Count William de Forz II
William Passemer		
William de Driffild		
William de Hebden	}	to Count William de Forz III
William de Redburn		
John de Langbar		
Richard Racin	}	to Count William de Forz III
Robert Pincerna		
Henry le Moigne		
Robert Daniel		

## The steward

By the time of William le Gros (1130-1179) the household of the counts of Aumale can be more clearly seen. The head of the administration, in all fiefs, royal, episcopal and baronial, was the steward. The count had his steward or stewards, and under him his knightly tenants had their own stewards also: Walter de Fauconberg, lord of Rise in Holderness, had a steward called Ralf between 1197 and 1210 (30) and Roger de Lascelles, a Holderness tenant of the archbishop of York, had a steward called Luke at the end of the 12th century (31). About 1230 Peter de Fauconberg's steward was William de Witherwick (32). Many other examples could be cited to show that even a small holding required a steward. The title could apply to one who was only a farm bailiff or to one who governed an area the size of Gascony and Poitou.

Like all the administrative officers of early central and local government (except the sheriff) the steward began as a household official. His title up to c.1200 was dapifer, meaning originally the man who brought in the dishes. It is tempting to find a parallel in Joseph, the cupbearer to Pharaoh, who became the administrator of Egypt. In English history the process from cupbearer to chief administrator took several centuries, and it was not until the coming of the Normans that the stewards became pre-eminent. They combined their household tasks with wider powers, and became in a very real sense their master's deputies. As early as 1176 the steward of a baron ("generalis economus, quem vulgo 'senescallum' dicunt") was sufficiently his master's deputy to be allowed to make an affidavit in the county court that his lord would pay a royal debt: if the money was not forthcoming at the exchequer, the steward could be imprisoned in chains (33).

In the earliest surviving administrative treatise to deal with a private household, the rules which Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, made for the countess of Lincoln c.1235-1242, the chief steward was to be charged with the duties of his office before the lord or lady, and before some of their trusted friends (which may be a synonym for the lord's council) to keep his lord's rights, franchises and property, and prevent encroachments: to guard and increase the lord's property and stock, and arrange for the income from the lands, rents and property to be sent to



the lord personally, to his wardrobe, for him to spend as he wished. Neither the steward nor his bailiffs were to oppress the tenants, and if any complaint of being oppressed was made the steward was to hold an inquiry, when he made his round ("eyre" in the French text), and have the matter redressed (34).

By the time of the writing of the Seneschaucy, some 30 years later, the duties of the steward were more exacting. His principal qualification was now sound legal knowledge "because he might have to represent his lord in court actions outside the manorial estate...the steward was responsible for the instruction of his bailiffs who would gain their experience under his guidance; he had the general supervision in his seneschaucy, and he had to visit the manor regularly, two or three times in every year, to inquire into rights, rents, services and husbandry" (35). The treatise, which is subtitled "how to manage and improve manors in the care of stewards and bailiffs", is mainly concerned with agriculture, and contains no description of legal duties, or financial, although the stewards must have occasionally dealt with both legal and financial matters. The lesser legal duties came into the sphere of the clerks of the household (for drafting charters) and most financial duties to the sheriffs and the chamberlains. Indeed it was a principle of the Seneschaucy and similar treatises that the steward should not be able to audit his own accounts (36).

The redactions of the treatise of Seneschaucy in Walter of Henley's Husbandry (1276-1285) and in Fleta (c.1290) are very similar, but Fleta deals with a small estate, where the household and lands were in the charge of the same officer, the common steward, and there was therefore some adjustment of duties between steward, bailiff and reeve (37). In practice far greater duties than these merely agricultural ones were performed by the stewards of great honours, for instance the Duchy of Lancaster (38), the estates of the Lord Edward, the countess of Aumale, the Bigods and the Clares (39). The duties included holding the lord's courts, and supervising all other officers in the bailiwick. The steward installed other officers and settled disputed claims to office. He seized the goods of outlaws and lands held in service: he gave livery of lands and sometimes distrained for homage or took security for performance of services due. Granting of leases within certain limits fell to the steward. He oversaw repairs to castles and other buildings. Inquisitions were held before him and he might also be called upon to settle boundaries (40). Much of the evidence for these activities however comes from later than 1260, and during the period at present being dealt with, before 1260, the position is less clear. What can be ascertained of the stewards of the Aumales is recorded here.

The Aumale stewards almost all came from the same class, the knights with only one fee or less (41). Even the Ros family fall into this group, for in the time they were stewards they only held a small amount of land in Holderness, and when they inherited Helmsley and the North Riding lands, they ceased to be stewards. The only exception among the stewards in the procession of knights with minor holdings was Philip de Langbar, who was possibly a graduate (he is usually called Magister) and certainly a cleric. Professor Tout does not devote much space to the office of steward, but he suggests that a steward would be that "rare phenomenon, the literate knight" (42). Whilst it would be an advantage to a steward to be literate, evidence is lacking on this point, and it is possible that the stewards employed clerks to do their reading and writing, as did their masters.

Where it is possible to discern their nationality, the stewards were French, as might be expected. William Brito was the grandson of a French squire. Fulk de Oyry's family and Robert Constable's family had come from Aumale. The Christian names of the stewards are French. It is in the less important office of sheriff that William Anglicus appears.

In the early charters of the counts, the steward is invariably termed dapifer: later he becomes seneschallus. The change-over seems to have taken place about 1200, for while counts Stephen and William le Gros always used dapifer, in the 13th century the word drops out of use. William de Forz I (1190-1195) had a dapifer (43) and Baldwin de Béthune had a dapifer between 1195 and 1201 (44), but by 1208 Baldwin's steward was called seneschallus (45) and thereafter the word dapifer does not appear. William de Ottringham gave Bridlington priory at the time of his death a garden: he was called dapifer in his lifetime, but when his brother-in-law and sister confirmed the gift, c.1190-1200, he was called by them "Willelmus seneschallus de Ottringham" (46).

After c.1200, at about the time dapifer becomes seneschallus, stewards appear to have been drawn from outside the count's Holderness lands. Although they often acquired Holderness lands, at the time they began to hold office they were not tenants there. The 12th-century stewards, the two members of the Ros family, William de Ottringham and Robert Constable, were all Holderness men. Later stewards were outsiders: William Brito (from Skerne, not of the count's fee), Walter de Heselton, Philip and John de Langbar and William de Hebden (all from the West Riding), Fulk de Oyry and William Passemer (from Lincolnshire), William de Redburn (from Pickering?), and Robert Daniel (from Lockington, not of the count's fee). This is also true of the greater officials of the honour of Chester, whose own fees usually lay elsewhere (47).

Perhaps at the time of the change of title there was a change of function too, only hinted at in the surviving records: for the early charters address the stewards as if they were in another place, at the receiving end of a charter, but the later counts constantly use the stewards as witnesses to their charters, as if the stewards were with them and part of the counts' entourage.

Writers on seignorial administration believe that at some period as yet unknown in the 12th or 13th century great estates began to have two stewards, one for the estates and one for the household (48). There is little evidence for this before the 13th century in the counts' administration. No 12th-century steward is given a distinguishing title, and no two stewards ever appear in the same document (whereas it is very common for two chamberlains to witness the same charter). About 1230 William de Redburn is referred to as steward of Holderness, but this title is also used in the 12th century, as early as 1130, and probably only means he was steward for the honour of Holderness and not that there were other stewards for other groups of lands. Sir Charles Clay believes that after the two honours of Holderness and Skipton were united in one family the steward of the count of Aumale was responsible for both: he found no evidence of an official who could be described as steward of Skipton (49). The first steward to be definitely localised was Sir William de Drifffield, called steward of Cockermouth c.1230: Cockermouth, lying on the west coast of Cumberland, was the most remote of all the lands of the counts and the most difficult place to reach from Holderness (50).

There was among the offices of the counts as in all medieval offices a strong hereditary tendency. The earliest recorded stewards Albert and Robert are only known by their forenames, but the next steward Peter de Ros the dapifer of Holderness was succeeded by his son Everard. Everard's brother also held some office in the household. Robert de Ros II, a later member of the same family, may have held some hereditary position, for he negotiated the return of William de Forz II to England in 1214 to receive his inheritance, and also was present when the ceremony of homage was performed for the new count (51). The hereditary principle certainly applied in the less important offices of constable, butler and chamberlain, and it is often difficult to ascertain when a title alters into a surname. Apart from the Ros family, and perhaps the Langbar family (two members of which were Aumale stewards in the 13th century) the office of steward was not inherited.

Many of the count's stewards, particularly in the early 13th century, appeared in court as attorneys for the counts before they were named as steward (52). This would seem to imply that a legal training was a qualification for a steward at least as early as 1200 (53). Robert Constable of Halsham may have been the count's constable before he became steward. Henry le Moigne was in charge of the count's corn in Holderness, several years before he was first named steward. William de Hebden was promoted from constable of Skipton to steward in the 1220s.

As the stewardship was the most important office, it is to be expected that men were promoted into it from minor posts, and, in turn, would leave the service of the count for royal service. Baronial stewards in England often moved to other posts: Alan de Hyde, the count of Aumale's steward in 1208, became steward to the earl of Pembroke. At the end of the 13th century, three of Isabella de Fortibus's stewards had previously served in other households, and none remained with her for more than a few years. Often the stewards moved on to a judgeship or Crown office (54). Of the Aumale stewards before 1260, William Brito became a deputy sheriff of Yorkshire and Robert Daniel a justice in eyre. William Brito might have risen further, but he gave up his career to become a steward for Meaux abbey.

It was common for medieval stewards to enrich themselves from their office, at the expense of their masters and the tenants. Medieval literature is full of anti-steward satires and sermons (55) and many of the Aumale stewards bought lands, suggesting they had ways of obtaining money. Fulk de Oyry, in particular, paid out, according to the surviving records alone, about £900 on lands and privileges: and the evidence for many of his transactions must have disappeared over the centuries. This was a very large expenditure for a man who held less than one knight's fee. The oppression of the powerful steward can be seen in the behaviour of Philip de Langbar towards Meaux abbey "being steward, and therefore all powerful, he seized the tithes" (56).

There do not seem to have been lands attached to the office of steward, although it is odd that Fulk de Oyry's son gave much of his father's land to another, later, steward, Henry le Moigne (57). William Constable, who held an unknown office from the count of Aumale before 1179, received £5 a year from the rents of Hedon in return for some unspecified duties (58). Of the Countess Isabella's stewards, Mr Denholm Young wrote "whether Isabella's stewards received fixed emoluments does not appear. On estates where more than one was employed, the salaries were merely those of bailiffs in positions of similar responsibility (e.g. the steward of Ightenhill was paid 20 marks). Whatever the salary, faithful



service was rewarded by a grant of lands" (59). Possibly the stewards held their office for a sum paid to the counts, and took what profit they could; certainly the bailiffs of Holderness, originally paid by the count, held the wapentake in this way from the middle of the 13th century (60). Hugh de Verli (a Holderness tenant of the archbishop) paid the king 500 marks in order that his son might be one of the king's clerks (61). Everard de Ros, on the other hand, paid that he might no longer be steward of the count of Aumale.

The steward's duties are not clearly shown in the available evidence before 1260, before the age of estate accounts and manorial rolls. The stewards constantly travelled about the estates, and can be found witnessing charters in such places as Barrow in Lincolnshire, Hedon, Aumale, Hornsea, Driffild, Westminster and Burstwick, sometimes but not always with the counts. Fulk de Cyry travelled into Normandy on the count's business in 1199 and 1204. He also went to Ireland in 1210 with the count and his knights, and to Poitou with the count's knights in 1214. Between these overseas expeditions he must be imagined journeying around all the Aumale estates which lay in 14 counties, from Hampshire to Cumberland. The ceaseless travelling of the steward and the pressure under which he worked is shown more clearly in the era of surviving estates accounts post 1260 (62). A lease of buildings and land in Wawne, made by the countess Isabella in 1262, reserves the right for the countess, her steward or her sheriff, to stay in the houses while travelling (63). While the stewards may have held courts for their lords, there is no evidence of this in Holderness, and indeed it would have been impossible for them to hold all the count's courts, which occurred at 3-weekly intervals on widely scattered estates all over England. Sir Frank Stenton suggests that the lord usually presided in his own honour court, and the steward's connection with the courts is not in evidence for more than a century after the Conquest (64). By the late 13th century the stewards probably came to the most important courts, but it was the sheriffs and bailiffs of the counts of Aumale who held the wapentake court of Holderness (65).

In the national courts, the counts' stewards can be seen answering at the exchequer for their masters, acting as attorney in the Curia Regis or eyre court and on one occasion complaining to the king's council about the justices in eyre. There is one instance of the steward being sent to the county court with an important letter from the count which was read out to the assembled members (66). It was customary for a lord's attendance at the county court to be delegated to the steward although from at least 1219 the count bought exemption from the county court of York (67). In 1227 the steward of the count was freed from assizes or juries outside his county (68).

Another responsibility of the steward was the keeping of the count's wards, that is the under-age sons and unmarried daughters of his tenants in chief. Homage was paid to a new count before the steward on the only occasion recorded, although as this steward was Fulk de Oyry who was also acting as custodian of the estates this may not be typical practice. In 1227 the steward of the count was empowered to inspect the arms of the men of the county (69): this too may have been an appointment personal to the man and not the office. The stewards undoubtedly had many miscellaneous duties: a glimpse of the steward in the 12th century in Holderness shows that the licence of the steward was normally required before a water-mill was moved from one place to another (70).

More can be discovered about the stewards (because of their greater social importance and wealth) than about any other category of the counts' officers, but their duties remain ill-defined and elusive.

Sheriffs of Holderness

William		to Count William le Gros
Rannulf		[to Count Baldwin de Béthune
		to Countess Hawisa
		to Count William de Forz II
Peter de la Twyer	}	to Count William de Forz II
Stephen Passemer		
William Anglicus	}	to Count William de Forz III
Henry de Cheshunt		

(71)

## The sheriff

The baronial shrievalty of Holderness was an ancient office, beginning at least as early as 1115 (72), although no sheriff's name is known before c.1150 (73). The sheriffs of Holderness have a continuous history until the end of the 13th century, and it is not correct to suggest (as has been stated) that sheriffs do not occur after 1179 in Holderness (74) nor that the title does not occur after 1270 (75). Of the origin of the office nothing is known; it may be noted in passing that the sheriff occurs some years before 1138, when Count William le Gros was created earl of Yorkshire. A sheriff was probably found to be necessary to deal with the privileged area that later came to be called the liberty of Holderness (76).

As officers of the counts, the sheriffs were of less importance than the stewards. The sheriff always follows the steward in the opening clause of charters addressed to the officials, and his name always follows the steward's name in the lists of witnesses. A typical witness list to a count's charter is this:

These witness: Sirs Peter de Fauconberg, Saer de Sutton,  
William Constable, Godfrey de Meaux, William de Scruteville,  
Henry le Moigne then steward, Richard de Bolebec, Peter  
de Campania, knights, Peter rector of the church of  
Preston, William Anglicus then sheriff, James then clerk  
of the count, Thomas de Dunsley, Hugh de Tunstall and others (77).

The order of the above list, although not universally followed, is generally the case: the steward, who was a knight, takes precedence among the other knights; then after the word "militibus" (referring to all the preceding names) the yeomen or esquires add their names beginning with the most important of them the sheriff (in this case preceded by a rector). Of all the sheriffs of Holderness known before 1260, only one is once called "sir" (78) and one is once called clerk (79).

Nevertheless the status of the sheriff cannot have been very far below that of the steward, for the son of one steward became a sheriff (Passemere) and constables of Skipton sometimes became steward (Hebden) and sometimes sheriff (Anglicus and Cheshunt). The shrievalty did not become hereditary, although as in the stewardship there was a hereditary tendency, i.e. the same families sometimes supplied sheriffs in different generations.

There is no evidence that a sheriff was ever promoted to being a steward. The succession of posts seems to have been a minor office (perhaps court work as an attorney) (80), then a more important post such as bailiff of Holderness or constable of Skipton (81) and then sheriff.



Simon de Preston witnessed a charter of Count William de Forz III between 1241 and 1251 as bailiff of Holderness, in company with a sheriff of Holderness (82). It was at Simon's house at Preston that another sheriff of Holderness was living, before 1266: and in 1266 Simon himself became sheriff (83).

After 1260 the sheriffs were of greater status: William de Twyer was a knight and also executor of the will of William de Forz III, and another sheriff, Rémy de Pocklington, was also executor of the will. Perhaps they were particularly suited to be executors, for as sheriffs they were in charge of the finances of Holderness (84).

The sheriff of Holderness was not the same man as the bailiff or serjeant of the wapentake (85) nor was he the man sometimes called bailiff, and sometimes coroner, who kept the Crown pleas of Holderness. The confusion between the different officials is not lessened by the medieval habit of calling all officers "bailiffs" from time to time, using the word as a synonym for agent or officer, replacing any title such as steward, sheriff or constable. In certain borough statutes, for instance, in which exact terminology might be expected, all the officers are referred to as bailiffs, regardless of their exact title.

Only the greatest liberties had private sheriffs, such as the honour of Earl Warenne at Wakefield, the honour of Richmond and the palatinate Durham. These private sheriffs are first found in the 12th century and continue into the 13th century (86). No treatises were written for the seignorial sheriffs, as they were written for the stewards. The county sheriffs' duties are described in works such as the Dialogus de Scaccario and the treatises of Bracton,<sup>(87)</sup> but the private sheriffs' duties can only be reconstructed from occasional references in the archives.

Of the count of Aumale's estates, only Holderness had a sheriff, there is no trace of one in Skipton or Lincolnshire or in the other lands attached to the honour. The duties of the sheriffs of Holderness mirrored those of the county sheriffs, as they existed after the period of the baronial shrievalties from c.1100, being mainly financial, judicial and military, but also including a general duty to act on the lord's orders in any affair. Between c.1160 and 1162 the steward, sheriff and other ministers of the count were jointly forbidden by William le Gros to lay hands on the men of St Martin d'Aumale: this suggests a general jurisdiction common to all the officers (88). The sheriff was sworn into office, and an echo of his oath comes from 1260-1261; in the agreement made between Prince Edward and the widowed Countess Isabella for the division of Holderness, the parties agreed that the sheriff of Holderness for the time being should perform his fealty to the countess in all things to maintain her liberty

and faithfully to preserve and faithfully to pay the countess's share of the revenues to her (89).

As the count's financial agent, the private sheriff collected the count's revenues from his wapentake, made disbursements and rendered his accounts to his lord. The earliest surviving account of a private sheriff in England comes from Holderness, and is dated Michaelmas 1261 to Michaelmas 1264; it shows a practised skill indicating that the account was no innovation (90). The last count of Aumale was sheriff of Cumberland, and well acquainted with sheriffs' accounting. How long before 1261 the sheriff of Holderness kept accounts it is impossible to say; but from the early-12th century the sheriff's financial interests are shown by his inclusion in one of William le Gros's charters granting money from the counts' rents: between 1138 and 1143 the sheriff, or whoever held the count's shrievalty, was ordered by the count to pay annually to St Peter's hospital York one mark from the toll of Hedon, at Michaelmas in York (91). So might a royal sheriff have been ordered to make payment from the royal revenues to a religious house. A parallel to this can be found in Chester in the 12th century, when between 1121 and 1129 and again between 1141 and 1153 the earl's chamberlains received the farm of the sheriff of Chester and made allowance to him by tally for the loss of judicial profits alienated to the abbey of Chester (92). When the gift of Count William le Gros was confirmed between 1214 and 1231 by Count William de Forz II, the sheriff was ordered in addition to protect the house, men, possessions etc. which the hospital had in Hedon, a reference to the legal privileges of the hospital which had its own courts and liberty (93) and also to the legal duties of the sheriff.

The revenues of Holderness which passed through the hands of the sheriff included the profits of the demesne manors, the profits of the coroner and of the wapentake court as well as the burgage rents of Hedon (94). As well as the profits of Holderness, for the first few years after the death of William de Forz III the sheriff also received the profits of Cockermouth, Skipton and Harewood which he passed to the countesses (95); at this date almost all the transfers of large sums of money in Holderness and elsewhere in the countesses' lands were carried out not in cash but by tallies.

In the shires, the royal sheriff presided over the county court (96) and in every hundred, save where the franchise had been granted away, he presided over the sheriff's tourn (97). It was his duty to see that juries were empanelled, that persons indicted by a jury, presented by a

bailiff, or appealed by a complainant were attached and made answer to the charges, and that the sentences were carried out. In Holderness the wapentake court was the equivalent court to the shire court. It met at Hedon, which explains the particular connection between the sheriffs and Hedon, stretching back to the mid 12th century when the sheriff witnessed a charter there (98). Early in the 13th century an agreement made in the wapentake court at Hedon was witnessed by the sheriff (99). At the same period a villein was quitclaimed to the count and the borough of Hedon, and delivered into the hand of the sheriff and the bailiff of Hedon (100). It seems probable that the sheriff was closely connected with the court, probably its president, as the royal sheriff was in the county court: there was however an official, always separate from the sheriff, called the bailiff of the wapentake, and how these two men divided the responsibility for the court is not clear (101). In Richmondshire the private sheriff held the court of the earl (102).

The sheriff was particularly the custodian of the liberties of Holderness, and this seems to have been the most important part of his oath to the lord (103). Whereas the stewards of the counts oversaw all the estates, and the count's affairs in a general sense, the sheriff was based in Holderness, and is not found acting outside Holderness or witnessing charters elsewhere (for instance, no sheriff of Holderness witnesses charters of the Skipton fee).

In many legal aspects of Holderness the bailiff of the wapentake and the coroner supplanted the sheriff in the 13th century. It was the bailiff and the coroner who dealt with the justices in eyre, and the bailiff who received the writs from the sheriff of Yorkshire in the county court, executed the writs (or sometimes failed to do so) and returned the writs endorsed with the action he had taken. More is known of the bailiff's duties than of the sheriff's, and it is difficult to escape the conclusion, when reading the 13th-century assize rolls, that the bailiff of the wapentake, and to a lesser extent the coroner, had taken over the sheriff's judicial functions. It is of course true that in this period the power of the royal sheriffs was also declining.

That the jurisdiction of the bailiff was exercised under the sheriff's authority is shown by a small group of documents from 1266, a collection of writs which show the sheriff's position (104). The sheriff of Holderness (Simon de Preston) and Adam Crepyn his bailiff had received a writ to execute for the sheriff of York, but had not properly carried out the orders, nor would the sheriff of Holderness allow the sheriff of Yorkshire or the king's bailiffs to enter the wapentake of Holderness. The impression is that

although the bailiff did the work of collecting the writs from York and executing them, the sheriff was in overall charge, and thought himself as independent as the sheriff of York. A similar position existed in the honour of Richmond in the 13th century, where the bailiffs of the honour would not permit the king's bailiffs to enter Richmondshire nor any man from Richmondshire to appear before the king's sheriff elsewhere. They demanded original writs addressed to Richmondshire, as in a county court, that is they claimed the rights of an independent county (105).

Other aspects of the sheriff's duties were military. In the Holderness rebellion of about 1260 (106) the sheriff of Holderness played a leading part in gathering the men of Holderness and resisting the royal forces. The Lord Edward ordered all the knights and free men of Holderness to join him at York for a Scottish invasion. On the repeated refusal of the knights to comply (pleading their liberties) a force was sent to capture the rebels and confiscate their goods. At the approach of the royal force the sheriff of Holderness and all the commonalty ("communitas") broke down the bridge over the River Hull (sufficient to isolate Holderness) and watched for two nights beside the river, to prevent the royal forces crossing. Afterwards the sheriff and the commonalty held a council at Meaux abbey, peace subsequently being made at Beverley (107). This interesting episode which is not recorded except in the Meaux chronicle shows the sheriff of Holderness as the natural leader of the wapentake, and one capable of military action. However, when the knights of Holderness organised representatives for military service in Poitou in 1214 there is no indication in the archives that the sheriff was involved (108). The county and the royal hundred or wapentake were responsible for the local levy, the "community of freemen" called the posse comitatus and posse hundredi, but they were not concerned with feudal military service. It seems probable that the seignorial sheriff of Holderness had the responsibility for the posse, which in a royal wapentake would be the duty of a high constable (109).

The sheriff also kept a supply of arms. After the death of the sheriff Henry de Cheshunt, his widow was asked to account for the arms which he had held: she handed over 5 crossbows and 3 spears, and it was suggested that there should have been more arms (110). The sheriffs in the time of Countess Isabella and probably earlier also received the money



due for castle guard (111). In the last few months of 1263 the sheriff William de la Twyer spent 24s. in guarding the wapentake at the command of Countess Isabella under threat of war, including two days at Ravenser to deal with possible troubles at sea (112).

A sheriff of Holderness is found keeping the count's ward and his land, a task which also fell to the stewards (113). Doubtless many of the duties of the sheriff were those that could be undertaken equally well by other officials, and it seems probable that the count would use whichever official he chose for a particular task, without being constrained by his title. The sheriff was as much the "vice comes" for the count as a royal sheriff was once for the earl. In the honour of Warenne between about 1118 and 1130 Earl Warenne ordered that certain complaints should be made to himself if he was in the county, or (if he was not) to his sheriff (114).

The nature of the privileges of Holderness is considered below (115); although it had many exemptions, being able to exclude all the king's officers except the justices in eyre, it was the sheriff of Yorkshire, not the sheriff of Holderness, who was liable for the chattels of executed criminals, or those who abjured the realm, or fled from the justice of the eyre (116). Holderness was not such a great liberty as for instance Ramsey, where the abbot could keep for his house the proceeds of crown pleas (117).

How the sheriff was rewarded for his services is not certain. Sheriff's aid was paid by Holderness tenants, although it is not often mentioned. For two manors in Holderness a man paid in the 1270s 5s. a year (118); the prior of Bolton in Craven who held 5 carucates in Holderness paid sheriff's aid to Holderness (119), and the canons of Bridlington priory paid each year for their manor of Skirlington to the bailiff of the liberty of Holderness 2s. for castle ward, 2s. for fines of wapentake and 2s. for sheriff's aid (120). Grants of lands to sheriffs, perhaps after their period of office, seem likely, and one, to William Anglicus, has been recorded. This grant, of an unspecified amount of land in Bradley (par. Kildwick, in the West Riding) was made between 1241 and 1251 and was not in serjeanty but in fee (121). A member of the Twyer family, which provided two 13th-century sheriffs, held land of the honour of Aumale not by service but only by money rents, and this may represent some arrangement for the payment of sheriffs (122). After 1260, in the time of the countesses, the sheriff was allowed many expenses, and such perquisites as a tabard for his use in winter, a saddle, robes and shoes for his three servants and a horse (123). Probably these rewards of office came to the sheriffs in the time of the counts also, but there is no record of this. Possibly the sheriff paid the

count for the right to be sheriff, as the bailiff paid for the privilege of his office, but this is unrecorded in Holderness. The seignorial sheriff of Richmond in the time of Henry III paid 20s. to the earl of Richmond each year for being sheriff (124).

However they were rewarded, the sheriffs, like the stewards, appear to have prospered. By 1235-1249 the sheriff Stephen Passemer owned 13 tenements in Hedon (125); Henry de Cheshunt had lands in Holderness worth over £60 a year (126); and the considerable possessions of a later sheriff, Richard de Halstead, were valued at £240 at the end of the 13th century (127).

The last sheriff of Holderness known to have held office was William de Walcote, who occurs c.1286 (128). It is probable that soon after this time, in 1293 when the last countess died and the whole honour came into the king's hands, the office was abolished. The sheriff's tourn was held in Holderness until the 19th century, by the bailiff of the liberty, with the jurisdiction of a minor police court. There is no evidence for or against the frankpledge system in Holderness in the period under discussion: the first mention of the sheriff's tourn is in 1278/9 (129).

#### The sheriff's staff

Under the sheriff of Holderness in the 13th century were the bailiff of the wapentake and the coroner. Holderness was sub-divided into three hundreds and also into four bailiwicks, and each bailiwick was in the charge of a subordinate bailiff (130). It is possible there were also bailiffs for the hundreds, to administer whatever business came to the sheriff's tourn which was held in the hundreds, but there is no evidence for these.

In addition to these officers, the sheriff had a number of other subordinates, of which only glimpses can be seen in the records. In 1214 Rannulf the sheriff was accused of imprisonment and a breach of the peace (a common accusation by a sheriff's detainees) and associated with Rannulf in the case were eleven men, eight of whom were probably on his staff. They were Roger the parker, Peter the warrener, Augustine the warrener, Thomas their associate, Lingulf (or Hingulf) the reeve, William the clerk, William the gardener and Hugh the beadle (131). Peter the sheriff's man is mentioned at about the same time (132). In Countess Isabella's time the sheriff had under him 4 warreners (2 land-bailiffs and 2 water-bailiffs), a forester, a gardener, a janitor, grooms, stock-keepers, shepherds, and

also the manorial reeves and their subordinates (133). These men would be paid either by wages (Countess Isabella agreed to pay the wages of the warrener) (134), or with lands held in serjeanty. The serjeants who made the earl's court summonses in Richmond held land by virtue of that office (135) and some serjeanties of this type are described in the inquisition post mortem of William de Forz III at Pocklington, a survey which is more detailed than those surviving for Holderness. At Pocklington there were 18 cottars, who in addition to their agricultural duties, were obliged to go with serjeants in socage to make summonses and distresses and to keep prisoners in fetters. There were also 4 gresmen who had to carry the lord's writs within the East Riding, but not beyond the magnas aquas (probably the Humber) (136).

Bailiffs or Serjeants of the wapentake of Holderness

Gilbert de Foxton		to Count Baldwin de Béthune
William Passemer	}	
Stephen Passemer		
Simon de Stutevill		to Count William de Forz II
Simon de Preston	}	
Robert de Steeton		to Count William de Forz III

(137)

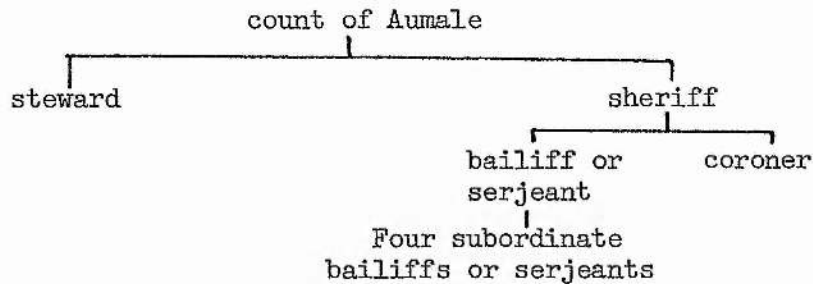


### The bailiff or serjeant of the wapentake

Although it is difficult to distinguish the responsibilities of the bailiff or serjeant of the wapentake from those of the sheriff, there is no doubt that (in the 13th century at least) there were two separate posts. The clearest illustration of this is a witness list of between 1241 and 1251 which contains the titles of both a sheriff of Holderness and a bailiff of Holderness (138). In the tentative list of bailiffs or serjeants given above, only one man, Simon de Preston, became sheriff (at a later date). The other bailiffs are clearly distinct from their contemporary sheriffs. Gilbert de Foston occurs as serjeant in 1208, a year when Rannulf was almost certainly sheriff (Rannulf occurs in dated documents of 1201, 1207, 1214 and 1218) (139). Similarly Robert de Steeton, serjeant in 1257, was a contemporary of Henry de Cheshunt, sheriff c.1251-1261. In the earliest Holderness sheriff's account roll of 1261-1264, the bailiff or serjeant accounts to the sheriff for the serjeanty (140); and in 1266 when the bailiff was required to find pledges, one of those he chose was the sheriff (141).

Another office which is sometimes confused with that of the bailiff or serjeant is the coroner of Holderness, in existence from 1231 if not earlier. In 1231 the serjeant is distinguished from the coroner (142), and the appearance of two men, Robert de Steeton as chief bailiff of Holderness and Bernard de Areyns as coroner, in the 1257 assize roll, confirms their separate identity at this date (143). The point is worth labouring because there is some confusion between the different offices, helped by the medieval tendency to call any officer a bailiff or serjeant, and complicated by the fact that the bailiff of the wapentake was sworn to carry out the business of the crown within the wapentake in similar terms to the coroner's oath. Many of the English hundred serjeants' original duties were subsequently performed by the coroner, although much overlapping continued after 1194 into John's reign and later (144). In the 13th century the name serjeant gradually gave way to bailiff for the officer of the hundred or wapentake across the whole country (145).

The chain of command in the 13th century, after the coroner's office was introduced into Holderness, was thus:



The first mention of the bailiff or serjeant is in 1189-1190, when three Holderness vills, Keyingham, Frismarsh and Ulrome, were fined for burying dead persons without a view by the serjeant, a duty that would soon fall on the new creation of the coroner (1146). The serjeant's position was explained to the eyre in 1219 by a jury thus:-

The count of Aumale should present his serjeant in the county court of York to do the business of the king within the wapentake of Holderness.

(1147)

The serjeant or bailiff was originally paid by the counts ("the bailiff had something certain of the count, for the custody of the serjeanty") (1148), but in the time of William de Forz III the bailiff paid the count £10 each year for the privilege of holding the office (1149). This £10 was then recouped from the men of the wapentake by the bailiff, in what would now be called "backhanders"; payments from the men of the district, that he might spare them from being put on assizes, juries or inquisitions. The only legitimate perquisites of the office were wrecks worth less than 20s., which were rare, and waif within Holderness, also difficult to evaluate. Neither of these could be valued in 1291 and the jurors remarked that the bailiffs did not always raise £10 a year, that is they sometimes did not make a profit but a loss (150).

The bailiff took an oath in the county court of York to do the king's business within the wapentake (151). He was also sworn to his duty to the lords of Holderness, to keep the bailiwick and not allow defects of justice or administration whereby the liberty might be harmed. The bailiff in 1266

was also obliged to find 6 pledges, including Simon de Preston the sheriff and William de Camera, presumably the chamberlain, to pledge that he would pay his annual farm (152). The form of the bailiff's oath to the countesses in 1266, taken by Thomas de Lelley, has been preserved, and the margin of the text is labelled in the same 'hand "serjantia". The oath was:

ita tamen quod idem Thomas ballivam bene custodiet ad  
commodum heredum Comitissarum et ad honorem Comitissarum,  
et nullam faciet defectum nec fieri permittet per quem  
libertas Holdernessie in aliquo ledatur.

(153)

The bailiff was the count's deputy in the king's business, and if he failed in his duty, such as the attachment of accused men, the count could be blamed by the justices (154) although more commonly it was the bailiff who was fined.

The bailiff or serjeant performed the manifold duties that a wapentake bailiff would normally perform for the county sheriff in a royal wapentake (i.e. one not in private hands) including summonses, attachments, the formation of juries, assizes and inquisitions. In 1204 the county sheriff was unable to attach two people because they remained in the liberty of the count of Aumale whose bailiff would not attach them (155). In 1218-1219 after many defaults of litigants in a case, the sheriff of Yorkshire was ordered to produce the defaulters, and to summon the bailiffs of Holderness to appear to show why they had not carried out the king's order (156). In 1228 a writ was sent to the count directing him to return to the port of Hull a ship which his bailiff had taken out of Hull into his liberty (157). Some years later, in 1230-1231, among the pleas of the crown in the eyre it was reported that a criminal had fled and did not appear in court, nor was he attached, although he was in the district. The judges concluded "and because the bailiff of the count of Aumale who has the wapentake at fee farm has not attached him, to judgement concerning the count" (158). It appears from other entries in the rolls that if a man was attached but did not appear, the bailiff was blamed: here no attachment was made, and the count was blamed. In other entries on the 1230-1231 assize rolls, the bailiff and the count were blamed for taking the goods of a dead man without view of the coroner, and for taking wreck (three boats) without view of the coroner (159).

Other duties of the bailiff are revealed by the assize rolls of 1251-1252 when a man complained to the justices in eyre that he had won a duel over land in Holderness against the abbot of St Mary's York; and "the sheriff [of Yorkshire] made his return to the bailiff of the liberty of Holderness, that he should cause him to have and be assigned the said 2 marks of land and of rent; and that the said bailiff, by the oath of proved and lawful men of that neighbourhood, assigned this to him, and he was in seisin until the abbot ejected him" (160). In 1259-1260 the sheriff of Yorkshire sent orders to the bailiff of the liberty which belonged to the count of Aumale in Holderness, to arrest suspects in a criminal plea (161).

One of the most interesting accounts of the bailiff's duties is given in a fine of 1242 between the count and one of his principal tenants over the tenant's court, which is worth quoting at length:

This is a final concord made between William de Ros, plaintiff, and William de Forz, count of Aumale, deforciant, made 3 February 1242, concerning the free court of the same William de Ros in his manor of Ros, whereupon the aforesaid William has complained that although he ought to have his free court for judging a thief taken in the same manor the count has not allowed him to have his court. The count has granted that William de Ros and his heirs, as often as any thief shall be taken in the aforesaid manor, whether he shall have been born on the land of the same William or not, shall have their free court in the aforesaid manor for performing judgement concerning him as of infangenethef, so nevertheless that judgement shall be done thereupon by the view of the bailiff of Holderness of the aforesaid count or his heirs who shall act faithfully for the count in making attachments of pleas of the Crown and other things which pertain to the sheriff in Holderness.

(162)

The office of bailiff of Holderness is often referred to as a serjeanty (163): it was not however a true serjeanty, for it was not



connected with the tenure of a certain piece of land. The subordinate bailiffs of the divisions of Holderness were tenants in serjeanty because they held land by the service of making attachments and distrainments. The bailiff of Holderness however was originally paid for his work, and subsequently held his office at farm from the count. The office was not hereditary. It came to be thought of as a serjeanty, because the officer was called serviens or serjeant as often as he was called bailiff (164). Bailiffs of hundreds or wapentakes were often tenants in serjeanty, as for instance were the bailiffs of Lancashire, who were called "chief bailiffs, bailiffs of the king, master serjeants and king's serjeants" (165).

All the hundreds and wapentakes in England had serjeants or bailiffs, some hundreds being grouped under one bailiff, and some hundreds having more than one bailiff. Many hundreds were in private hands, and out of about 628 hundreds or wapentakes when Edward I became king, only 270 were royal (or independent) and 358 were in private hands. However whether the hundred were royal or private, its bailiff was the sworn bailiff of the king in addition to any private interests he might represent, and his oath was publicly taken in the county court, so that all might know who the bailiff was (166).

The men who were bailiffs of Holderness seem to have been the same sort of men who became sheriffs of Holderness, in status somewhat below the stewards. Only one, Robert de Steeton, seems to have been a knight. Simon de Stutevill may have been the illegitimate son of a knight. Thomas de Lelley, bailiff in 1266, had been constable of Skipton, a post which could lead to the stewardship or shrievalty. But too little is known of the bailiffs to be categorical about their status (167).

#### The bailiff's subordinates

From the time of Henry II's reforms of the judicial system, the work of both sheriff and bailiff increased enormously. Miss Cam cites the case of one of the Lancashire hundred bailiffs, who in the time of Henry III carried out all the work himself, and so did his son after him: but his grandson found there was too much work, and appointed a subordinate, and the process went on until in 1334 six men were employed, and the men of the hundred, while complaining that six was too many, thought at least four men were necessary (168). In North Yorkshire between 1207 and 1209

Peter de Brus promised his knights and free tenants of Cleveland that the chief serjeant of the wapentake would have only three horses and three subordinate serjeants on horseback, that is, two in Cleveland and one in Whitby Strand (169).

In Holderness the bailiff had subordinates to help him with the work. The administrative divisions (170) are of great complexity. The Domesday division into three hundreds, North, Middle and South, was later supplemented by a further division into four bailiwicks, called Mois, Tunstall, Helpston and Dunsley. The north and south hundreds were co-extensive with Dunsley and Mois bailiwicks, but the middle hundred was divided into an eastern and a western part, called Tunstall and Helpston. The four divisions or bailiwicks date from at least the early 13th century, and for centuries were named after the families who administered the divisions. The boundaries and names of the divisions are first given c.1260, when the subordinate bailiffs or serjeants were called Peter de Mois, Richard de Tunstall, Richard de Helpston and Thomas Dunsley, and the boundaries are given by George Poulson in the mid 19th century, substantially unaltered (171). Each of the four bailiffs held a small amount of land (one or two bovates) in his division in return for his service, which was to assist the bailiff of the wapentake in making summonses, distraints and attachments and other similar tasks. Payments from the bailiffs appear in the Holderness account rolls, including castle ward payments in Dunsley's division, the most northerly (172). The offices were hereditary, and the serjeants appear over many years to have not only the same surname but the same Christian names. No doubt there were other members of the bailiff's staff as well, but only one is recorded: Adam Crepyn, the "bailiff's bailiff" of 1266-1267 (173).

#### Mois

Mois division contained the south-eastern part of Holderness, from Spurn on the east to Hedon Haven on the west, and as far north as a line drawn between Withernsea, Halsham and Burstwick. It was identical with the south hundred of the wapentake (174). The bailiff of Mois held two bovates of land in Bond Burstwick by the serjeanty of collecting the free farm and castle ward payments of Skipsea, and executing summonses and attachments of the wapentake for a fourth part of Holderness (175). In about 1260 Peter de Mois was the serjeant (176); a Peter de Mois was also living in Holderness earlier in the century. He was one of ten men who failed to produce five defendants, one being the count of Aumale, to the justices in 1224 (177). He was fined in 1230 also for failing to bring to court a man he had pledged (178) and was involved with the count in a

disseisin in 1234 (179). He was the tenant of two bovates held by serjeanty of the wapentake in Burstwick in 1260 (180). In 1300 Peter Mois the serjeant whose duty was to collect the free farm and castle ward of Skipsea for a fourth part of Holderness was fined for keeping some money he should have paid to the bailiff in previous years (181). The widow of Peter de Mois who died in 1344 had held  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the land in Burstwick and of the serjeanty in dower (182): another Peter de Mois who died in August 1349 held a messuage and 2 bovates by the service of making the summonses, attachments and executions of the king's wapentake of Holderness and by rendering yearly to the ward of Skipsea castle  $6\frac{3}{4}$ d. (183). In the 18th century the bailiff of "Moijs" still held his office with two bovates of land in Burstwick (184).

### Tunstall

Tunstall division contained the eastern part of Holderness between Waxholme and Aldbrough on the North Sea coast, and as far as Burton Constable and Marton on the west. It shared the older middle hundred with Helpston bailiwick, the division being made approximately halfway between the River Hull and the sea, with no obvious geographical feature to mark the boundary (unlike the three hundred boundaries) (185).

Hugh the serjeant is first found c.1208-1209 as a witness to a grant of a toft in Tunstall (186) and is the earliest of the serjeants to be named. Hugh son of Hugh de Tunstall occurs in 1230, owing  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. for unjust detention, his name in the Pipe Roll being in the same list as that of Peter de Mois (187). Between 1235 and 1249 Abbot Michael of Meaux leased to Hugh Tunstall, called the serjeant of the count, a toft and two bovates in Tunstall (188). Hugh de Tunstall witnessed a charter of Count William de Forz III between 1241 and 1251, in company with the steward, the sheriff, the count's clerk and Thomas de Dunsley, another serjeant (189). Hugh the serjeant held four bovates in Tunstall c.1260, although at about the same time the serjeant was named as Richard de Tunstall (190).

The bailiff of Tunstall in the 18th century held one bovat in Tunstall called Bailiff's Close (191).

### Helpston

Helpston division contained all the west part of the middle of Holderness, from the Humber on the south to Meaux and Skirlaugh on the north. It shared the old middle hundred division with Tunstall bailiwick.

The bailiff c.1260 was named as Richard de Helpston. Less is known of the Helpston bailiffs than of the other three bailiffs, and the only Helpston found in Holderness before 1300 is a John de Helpston who was a burgess of Hedon in 1297 (192). Two serjeants without surnames occur in Preston, where the lands of the bailiff's serjeanty lay, Henry le Serjeant who was accused of two disseisins in Preston 1250-1251 (193), and Geoffrey son of William the serjeant who gave land in Preston to St Sepulchre's hospital, Hedon (194).

In the middle of the 14th century the Helpston family held a serjeanty, combined with lands in Burstwick, by making the summonses and attachments at the Aumale court of Barrow, Lincolnshire (195). This serjeanty, which is presumably the same as that held by William Yocktdoeg in 1260 which combined 2 bovates in Burstwick or Preston with the "serjeanty of Lindsey" (196), may be the same as the Holderness Helpston serjeanty. In the 18th century the bailiff of Helpston held land in Preston (197).

#### Dunsley

Dunsley division contained all the north of Holderness, from Long Riston, Rise and Witherwick northwards to the boundary of Holderness, and from the western boundary to the sea on the east. It was the same as the north hundred, and its southern boundary for the most part was the Lambwath stream.

One T. or Thomas de Dunsley witnessed five Holderness charters to Bridlington priory, including one dated 1279 (198). Thomas de Dunsley witnessed a charter of Count William de Forz III between 1241 and 1251, in company with the steward and sheriff of Holderness, the count's clerk and Hugh de Tunstall, bailiff of Tunstall division (199). In 1260 Thomas de Dunsley held 2 bovates of land in Skipsea (200). At the end of the 13th century Thomas de Dunsley quitclaimed to Bridlington priory a rent of 2s. from a toft in the borough of the castle of Skipsea (201). By 1332 the serjeanty was in the Lorimer family who held a messuage and 2 bovates by service of making executions, summonses, attachments and distrainments at the wapentake of Holderness every 3 weeks (202). In the 18th century the Dunsley bailiff held 2 bovates in Dringhoe, next to Skipsea (203).



Coroners of Holderness

William the clerk to Count William de Forz II  
Bernard de Areyns to Count William de Forz III

(204)

## The coroner

In addition to the offices of sheriff, bailiff and the subordinate bailiffs of the four divisions, there was a coroner in Holderness. That his office was separate from that of bailiff is shown in the assize rolls. In 1231 the bailiff of the count of Aumale was in trouble for taking goods and for burying a man without view of the coroner, and also for taking three wrecks (205). In the assize roll for 1257 the chief bailiff of the wapentake is named as Robert de Steeton, but the coroner was Bernard de Areyns (206).

Private coroners were not unknown in the middle ages, but like the private sheriff, were only found in the greatest liberties. The abbot of Furness had a coroner, to be elected in the abbot's court, and his name notified to the chancery, but only from 1337, a previous attempt to gain this privilege having failed (207). Private coroners existed in the liberties of St Edmunds, Suffolk, and four other private hundreds in Suffolk, Essex, Devon and Kent (208). Mr Hunnisett cites many additional ones, and estimates that by 1300 there were well over 50 franchisal coroners (209).

The origin of the coroner in England is a matter of debate, but the office dates from at least 1182-1183 (210). In 1194 the institution of coroner was made general for the whole country, his duties previously having been carried out by the serjeant or bailiff of the hundred or wapentake. The purpose of the appointment of coroners in 1194 was to "keep the pleas of the crown", that is to keep a record of all crimes and other occurrences that involved crown rights. They were present at executions of red-handed thieves in private courts, at outlawries and at appeals and presentments of crimes: they held inquests on sudden death, the finding of treasure or the occurrence of a wreck, calling men of the four nearest townships to give information and recording the findings on their rolls (211).

In 1190 three Holderness villis were fined for burying dead persons without a view by the serjeant, indicating that at this time the serjeant or bailiff of the wapentake was performing the duties that later fell to the coroner (212). In 1208 the serjeant was in trouble for presenting the wrong man before the coroners, which probably should be interpreted as meaning the count of Aumale did not yet have a franchisal coroner, as there was only ever one coroner at a time in Holderness, but (originally) two, three or four in the county (213). Franchisal coroners begin to appear shortly after 1200 (214) and Mr Hunnisett suggests a double motive for the appointments: lords of franchises liked to have coroners of their own to safeguard the pleas of the crown because they received financial benefits

from pleas of the crown (for example, deodands, murdrum and chattels of felons and fugitives, only part of these however going to the counts of Aumale) and because they liked to make their administration independent and a complete reflection of the king's organisation (215). Relatively little is known about franchisal coroners and even royal coroners have been little studied before the last twenty years (216).

The essential part of the duties of the coroner was his enrolment of the pleas of the crown, for it was his rolls, not those of the sheriff, that were the basis of the general eyre (217). In Holderness the coroner's roll is mentioned specifically in 1257, but it is also the basis of the opening entries of the assize rolls "old pleas of Holderness" (218).

Other duties of the Holderness coroner included holding inquests on men killed, for which he was not supposed to take payment (a common complaint of the Hundred Rolls is that coroners demanded fees for these inquests) (219), and holding inquests on wrecks (220) to determine their value. He made attachments and kept prisoners until the county court met or until the next coming of the justices (221). To assist in determining the facts, he called upon the four neighbouring vills for the inquest: this is seen in Holderness in 1231 when three vills, Withernewick, Great Hatfield, and Cowden were fined for presenting a plea falsely concerning a man who died in the fields of Withernewick (222).

The men who became coroners were socially of the same type as the sheriff and sometimes became sheriffs. They were in the counties elected in county court and served for life or until they were past work. Only two Holderness coroners are known in the period under review, William the clerk of whom little is known, and Bernard de Areyns. Bernard was coroner for many years, and came from the class of knights with small holdings which provided most of the sheriffs of Holderness.

Chamberlains

Geoffrey	}	to Count Stephen
Stephen		
William	}	to Count William le Gros
Terry		
Benedict		
Adam		
Walter		
Hugh son of	}	to Count William de Mandeville
Benedict de Nuthill		
Herbert		to Count William de Forz I
Gregory		to Count Baldwin de Béthune and Hawisa
Robert		to Count William de Forz II
John de Nuthill	}	to Count William de Forz III
Gerard de St John		
John de Berchaut		



### The chamberlains

Little more is known of the chamberlains of the counts of Aumale than their names. They occur from 1115-1130 to 1260 and beyond, and often two chamberlains together. There were obviously two chamberlains of the counts of Aumale from the earliest period, a feature of other seignorial administrations from the 12th century, including that of the earls of Chester (224). In the 13th century many baronial households had two financial officials, following the practice of the royal exchequer, presumably so that one official could check on the other. Seignorial chamberlains were also called receivers or keepers of the wardrobe on some estates, although this is not found in Holderness before 1260. Often in the 13th century one of the chamberlains became the more important, although again there is no evidence on this point in Holderness records (225). In Holderness the sheriff acted as receiver general in Countess Isabella's time, up until 1262 when she inherited the earldom of Devon and lordship of the Isle of Wight and also a more complex financial system.

In the 12th century the chamberlains were of some importance in the household, but their status appears to have declined in the 13th century. This can be seen from the witness lists of the counts' charters: chamberlains occur in the lords' charters no less than 27 times in the 12th century, but only 9 times in the 13th century. They were evidently no longer an integral part of the lord's household, or if they were, were not considered of sufficient importance to witness.

Of the 12th-century chamberlains, only their Christian names are known, making it difficult to identify the descent of the office. It is however evident that at an early stage, perhaps as early as 1160, one at least of the chamberlainships had become hereditary in the Nuthill family.

Morwan Rotarius was enfeoffed by William le Gros with all the land of Nuthill outside the park (of Burstwick) between 1130 and 1179 (226). On this land he was permitted to set up a chapel between 1154 and 1180, and from his fee he gave rents to the abbey of Thornton (227). The land at Nuthill is estimated constantly at two carucates from Domesday Book to Kirkby's Quest at the end of the 13th century, and this land descended from Morwan to members of the Nuthill family. It is improbable that the man who became lord of Nuthill and patron of a private chapel was a wheelwright, and it may be presumed he came from Rotoirs near Aumale, a place mentioned in an

early charter to St Martin d'Auchy at Aumale: the tithes of the district of Rotoirs were given to St Martin before 1096 (228). Humbert or Winbert de Rotoirs gave tithes in "Walceri capella" to Aumale, also before 1096 (229) and an Imbert de Rotoirs witnessed a charter of William le Gros dated 1166 at Aumale (230).

The charter enfeoffing Morwan describes him as the man of the count, and there is no evidence to show that Morwan was a chamberlain. However there was a chamberlain called Benedict, who was lord of Nuthill (231) and succeeded Morwan there; and by the turn of the 12th century Hugh son of Benedict lord of Nuthill was in possession of Morwan's chapel (232).

Hugh son of Benedict was granted the chamberlainship of Aumale in fee by William count of Aumale ("toto feodo camere suo") (233) and this was also granted by Countess Hawisa between 1179 and 1214 ("toto feodo exeunte de talamo suo") (234). The family took the surname Nuthill (usually written Nutle in the 13th century) and from the date of the granting of the office in fee, the chamberlainship may be presumed to have descended in the Nuthill family, through John de Nuthill to his son Peter, who in 1279-1280 quitclaimed the bailiwick of the chamberlain for lands in Holderness to the king for the sum of 20 marks (the king now being lord of Holderness by eschaet) (235). Evidently there was some doubt as to whether John de Nuthill had already executed a similar deed, for Peter also bound himself to give back the 20 marks if it was found that his father had quitclaimed the bailiwick previously (236). John de Nuthill was a working chamberlain, not the holder of a sinecure, for in the 1260s he often received large sums of money for the countess (237). But by his son Peter's time the situation was different, for it cannot have been a significant office at this date if there could be so much uncertainty on the part of both man and master: no-one would wonder if he was, or was not, steward or sheriff by inheritance.

In the second of the two deeds of Peter de Nuthill quitclaiming the chamberlainship, the bailiwick was called "balliva camerarie de terris in Holderness" showing that this chamberlainship was only concerned with Holderness, and not with all the count's estates.

The other chamberlainship is more obscure, and does not seem to have remained in one family. The land of the second chamberlain's fee seems to have lain in Paull Holme, near the Humber. Between 1179 and 1189 William de Mandeville, the husband of Countess Hawisa, granted Walter the

chamberlain 20 acres of land in Holme "desuper montem" (238) to hold by knight service, the land being  $\frac{1}{3}$  of  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate (i.e.  $1\frac{1}{3}$  bovates). About 1260 R. de Camera held 2 bovates here and between 1273 and 1275 William de Camera held 2 bovates here (239). Various men with the surname Ad Camera, le Chamberlayne or Chambers are quoted by Poulson as living in Paull Holme from the 13th century to the end of the 14th century (240).

Despite the connection with Paull Holme, other chamberlains occur in Holderness having apparently no connection with the Nuthill family or Paull Holme. One was Gerard de St John or Barmston, chamberlain in the time of William de Forz III (1241-1260). As chamberlain he was granted two carucates (the same size holding as the Nuthill family) and a capital messuage in Barmston, in the north of Holderness (241). Another chamberlain was John de Berchaut, chamberlain to William de Forz III (242).

Nothing is known of the duties of the chamberlains in the time of the counts and no household rolls have survived from the Countess Isabella's days. In the 12th century they appear to have been often with the counts, and Benedict travelled with the count to Hornsea and as far as Aumale. When court records become more numerous in the 13th century, two chamberlains are found acting as attorneys for the counts in the Curia Regis (243).

### Other officials

It is not proposed to deal with the other members of the counts' administration in much detail, but merely to indicate their existence. The remaining officers are of less interest, in some cases because their duties ceased to be meaningful, and in other cases because there is not enough evidence about either the men or their duties to do more than outline their existence. In the time of the Countess Isabella there were some 60 members of the household alone, not counting those who administered the manors locally (the reeves, farm bailiffs, the stock-keepers, shepherds and so on) (244). It is not known how many men usually travelled in the retinue of the counts, but probably at least as many as 60.

Some of the officials were important figures in the early 12th century, but their importance declined as the century passed, a decline continued in the 13th century. The first example of this is the constable. Little is known of the duties of the 12th-century constable, who dealt with the military side of the lord's household. Only the greatest of lords, such as the earl of Chester, at all frequently mentioned the constable in the address of their charters, and this was not done by the counts of Aumale. His original function was probably to command the knights of the lord's household, but by the time charters become numerous in the middle of the 12th century, the knights of the household had mostly been enfeoffed, and the constable's importance was declining and had become connected with garrison rather than household duties (245). Constablerships in general became hereditary at an early date, and this is the case in Holderness, although not in Skipton.

The first Aumale constable recorded was Ulbert the constable, a knight, who occurs in Normandy in the time of Count Stephen between 1115 and 1130, as a witness to the important charter whereby St Martin d'Auchy at Aumale was made into an abbey (246). He was born not later than 1090-1095, and lived till c.1147 and perhaps 1153 (247). The vill, territory, church and tithes of "Ulbert's wood" of the fee of the count of Aumale (nemoris Ulberti) had been given to Feucarmon abbey after 1130 and before 1161, a district not now identifiable which may have been named after the constable (248). Ulbert's son Robert gave St Martin d'Auchy a house in Auchy, between 1162 and 1182, which suggests that the family originally came from that area (249).



Ulbert came to England and acquired an interest in Holderness lands, at Halsham and Burton (later Burton Constable) either in his own right or more probably through marriage with the heiress Erneburga de Burton. Both these holdings were part of the archbishop of York's fee in Holderness, which the counts of Aumale held from the archbishop. He also held land in Fraisthorpe, just outside the northern boundary of Holderness, part of his wife's inheritance (250).

Ulbert witnessed two charters of William le Gros, one at Burstwick and one at Aumale (251). He evidently travelled with the count, and there is no doubt that he was a constable, and that it was not merely a surname in his day.

Ulbert was succeeded by Robert Constable I, his eldest son, who extended the family's lands by acquisitions in Tharlesthorpe (a village now lost, covered by the Humber c.11400). Going on crusade with King Richard, Robert Constable died at the siege of Acre, described as the count of Aumale's seneschal (252). He had no surviving sons and was succeeded by his brother William's son, Robert II. Robert II increased the family lands and added holdings in West Newton, Marton and Flinton. By his marriage to Fulk de Oyry's daughter Ela, Robert's descendants became co-heirs of the Oyry lands in Holderness and Lincolnshire (253). From these two, Robert Constable II and Ela, descended in a direct line the Constables of Halsham and Burton Constable until the death of William Constable 4th Viscount Dunbar in 1718, when the succession passed to the families of Tunstall, Sheldon, Clifford and Chichester, whose representatives successively took the name of Constable (254).

There is no indication of the duties of the constables in the Holderness archives. The office was a hereditary one as far back as it is known, and the land the constables held was held by ordinary knight service (255). An extent of the manors of Sir William Constable made in 1273, including the stock and grain, shows the family's wealth at this time in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. His manors were worth £396 and his debts £120 (256).

The only unusual feature suggesting the constables still performed duties at the end of the 12th century and into the 13th century is a series of charters of the counts of Aumale granting members of the family an annual payment of 100s. William le Gros granted William Constable, about the year 1150, money from his rents of Holderness to hold until such time as the count should provide land somewhere for his service and provide better for him (257). No land was apparently granted, and the gift of 100s. yearly

was confirmed to Robert Constable by Baldwin de Béthune and Hawisa (1195-1212) and by William de Forz II between 1214 and 1231 (258). William le Gros's charter does however raise certain problems, for although there were two William Constables in the early generations of the family, neither is known to have been in possession of the family inheritance, which presumably went with the office.

Another family of Constables was settled at Flamborough, not far from Holderness, deriving their names from the constables of Chester. They were not related to the Holderness constables, but also produced several 12th- and 13th-century Roberts and Williams, causing some confusion among later scholars (259).

In the Skipton fee of the counts of Aumale, the office of constable remained non-hereditary and of greater importance, and many of the constables subsequently held office in Holderness, as steward, sheriff or bailiff (260). The constable of Skipton was the chief official of the honour of Skipton, and no evidence has been found of a steward for Skipton after it came to the Aumales. Both castle and honour were administered by the constable, who is also often called the bailiff. On the death of William de Forz III in 1260, the constable was ordered to deliver the castle to the eschaetor (261). In subsequent transfers of the fee, the orders are normally directed to the constable, an office which continued after the extinction of the Aumale family (262). There are account rolls of the constable for Skipton, beginning in 1266 (263).

Among the duties of the constable was presiding over the honour court or curia militum of Skipton (264). He held a general superintending power over the state of the castle and the park, and the lands of the fee (265). It appears he did all that a steward might do in another honour, and also had responsibility for the castle. In Countess Isabella's time the constable received £10 a year for his services (266).

The counts of Aumale were served by butlers ("pincernae") whose post also became hereditary and without recorded duties. The name became a surname for a family, in the same way that Constable became a surname, but the male heirs of the butlers died out in the mid 13th century.

The first butler known is Stephen, who witnessed a charter of Thurstan, provost of Beverley, between c.1135 and 1143 (267). Stephen also witnessed 9 charters of William le Gros, of various dates, none being later than 1168 (268). Stephen had three sons, Ralph, William and Amand, who were associated with him in a grant to Swine abbey in which he is called "Stephen the butler of William count of Aumale" (269). The family held land at Oubrough, Hilston, Benningholme, Owstwick and East Newton, all in Holderness, and had some interest in Hilston church (270).

Ralph was probably the eldest son of Stephen, as he is always named first in documents in which the sons are jointly concerned. He witnessed five of William le Gros's charters, and his brother William also occurs as a witness to four of the count's charters. Most of these charters come from the 1150s (271). The third brother, Amand, was probably under age in 1150, as he did not witness the important charter establishing Meaux abbey which his father and brothers witnessed, but was of age before 1175 when he witnessed a charter of le Gros (1170-1175) (272).

Amand was one of the more interesting Holderness tenants. He was one of four manorial lords who with their free tenants and the nuns of Swine agreed to allow Meaux abbey to construct a dyke 20 foot wide through their lands, between Arnold and Benningholme, by which the water could come down from the Lambwath stream to Meaux, which was called Monkdyke, and was built between 1210 and 1220. It was quickly followed by other dykes in the same locality, and marks the first stage of the monks' drainage of the Hull valley (273).

Amand gave Meaux land in East Benningholme with his body and other land elsewhere (274), dying before 1218. After his death an unseemly wrangle broke out between Meaux and nearby Swine abbey, for the nuns seized his dead body and carried it off to their nunnery and buried it there, probably hoping for some material advantage (275). The quarrel about this and other quarrels to do with the dyke were solved by the arbitration of Hamo dean of York, who decided in 1218-1219 that the body should remain at Swine (276). Amand's wife was called Beatrice, and she held land in Hatfield (277). He witnessed one charter of William le Gros and one of William de Mandeville, together with Luke the butler (278). After the death of Amand there were no male heirs, and his lands were divided between his three daughters (279).

Two other butlers are named in the counts' charters, Norman who witnessed two charters of William le Gros, and Luke who was butler to William de Mandeville (280). After the appearance of Luke, no butlers are named in the archives. Nothing is known of the Holderness butlers' duties.

Many witnesses occurring in the counts' charters are designated "clerk" which may mean nothing more than that they were in orders. One or two however were more than this, and were administrative clerks to the count. One clerk would also act as chaplain. The normal "establishment" may be represented in the mid 12th-century charter of William le Gros, which is attested by the clerks Simon the chaplain, Isaac, Roger and Warner: for men called Isaac, Roger and Warner all are described separately elsewhere as "the count's clerk" (281). There is no trace of any chancery in Holderness, but on some occasions it is probable that the clerks wrote charters, kept accounts, wrote and read letters and so on. The absence of a secretarial department in the great honour of Chester is paralleled in the lesser honours of Holderness and Skipton (282). Some of the clerks acted as attorneys for the counts of Aumale in the 13th century.

Many of the clerks are known only by their Christian names. The two most interesting are Isaac and Walter the Hare. Isaac was clerk to William le Gros in the 1150s and witnessed many of his charters (283). He was given by le Gros lands in Skeffling, to augment his other lands, by service of 1/6th part of a knight's service for guarding Skipsea castle, between 1165 and 1179, and from this land came his surname Skeffling (284) although he was also called Isaac de Skirlington on occasion (285). He gave Meaux abbey land in Dunnington near Beeford between 1160 and 1182, and was described in the Meaux chronicle as "a wise clerk and a man of great authority", worth noticing because praise of any description is rare from the Meaux chronicler (286).

Isaac was also a landowner on the west coast of Cumberland, being one of the few Holderness men to hold Copeland land from Cecily countess of Aumale, one of whose charters he witnessed (287). As he uses the name Skeffling in Copeland, probably his first enfeoffment was in Holderness. In the second half of the 12th century he gave St Bees priory land in Ellenborough (near Maryport) (288). His brother Simon and his descendants later held this land and made gifts to St Bees and Holm Cultram (289).

Walter the Hare (lepus, or le Herre) was also a Cumberland man. His relation William the Hare witnessed a Copeland charter of William count of Aumale (290) and William's wife Beatrice was mentioned in a collection of stories illustrating the miracles of St Bega (291). Walter, described as clerk of the count, gave Meaux abbey land and a house



in Hedon between 1210 and 1220 (292).

Yet another clerk was the 13th century James de Wicton (also called Wihnton), clerk to William de Forz III. His name suggests Wigton although there are other places which take the same forms. It is surprising that all three of the counts' clerks that can be localised by their surnames (the remainder are a medley of Johns, Rogers, Roberts, Thurstans, and Warins) came from Cumberland. It is tempting to speculate that in Cumberland there was a school from which the counts habitually took their clerks, a school perhaps organised by "Peter de Holderness then rector of the scholars of Cockermouth" who witnessed one of the St Bees charters (293).

The marshal was never an important member of the seignorial household. In the 12th century the marshal occurs at the very end of the list of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury's household; and the pre-conquest status of the office was that of horsebreaker (294). Only one marshal's name has been found in the Holderness archives before 1260, and that is Robert de Bosco, then marshal, who witnessed a charter of William de Forz II to Meaux between 1214 and 1231 (295). It was possibly his daughter who as Beatrix the daughter of Robert the marshal of Beeford gave Meaux  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of land and a toft at Beeford (296).

From the sporting interests of the counts comes a small group of officials, several warreners both for land and water (297), a huntsman (298) and the keepers of the counts' falcons. These last were men of substance, being enfeoffed in the 12th century with two carucates in Holderness, to hold by doing the service of the count's falcons, that is coming personally with one bearer and three horses to be at the count's court at the keeper's expense (299). A further grant was made to another member of the same family of one carucate to hold by doing the service of tending the birds during the count's lifetime (300).

The falconer's office was a serjeanty, because he held land by a special service. There were other less important serjeanties, ranging from the man who put iron on the ploughs at Burstwick and the man who kept the south park at Burstwick, to the family who held the right to run the ferry from Paull to Lincolnshire, with the resounding title of the "Passatores de Pagula" (301). Their extortions were much complained of: but the counts and their families and servants travelled free (302). There were probably many other small serjeanties, of which no record has survived.

The administration was not wholly masculine. Under the two countesses who ruled alone, first Countess Hawisa (1179-1214) and later Countess Isabella at the end of the 13th century, the ladies in waiting or "domicellae de camera" witnessed charters and were granted lands and rents in their own right (303). Even Hawisa's old nurse Agnes was rewarded: she was granted 4 bovates of land in Preston, c.1191-1192, for a payment of pennies to the castle ward of Skipsea (304).

### The career of Fulk de Oyry

Having surveyed the main outlines of the counts' administration, a more detailed account is given of one of the counts' officials. Fulk de Oyry, steward to successive counts at the beginning of the 13th century, was in addition a considerable figure in his right. More is known of him than of other officials of the counts, and this means that he is not likely to be typical of his kind: it is not a chance survival of archives in his case that illuminates his career, but a mass of evidence from very different sources, showing how powerful was the impact he made on his contemporaries. With the caveat, therefore, that Fulk was an outstanding person, it is interesting to see what sort of career a steward could achieve.

Fulk to Oyry is the most interesting of all the stewards of the counts of Aumale. His career may be compared with that of the 12th century William Cade, or the late 13th century Adam de Stratton, also a steward of the Aumales but of a countess (305).

The family came from Normandy, and probably from Aumale. Geoffrey de "Oreio" witnesses a Norman charter together with Stephen, count of Aumale, between 1115 and 1130 and Hugh de "Oiri" also occurs as a donor to Aumale abbey and a witness to a Beauvais abbey charter in the same period (306). The family may have given its name to a place, or taken its name from the same place, for one Eustace de Oirival occurs somewhat later, and William de Orivall the count of Aumale's knight occurs in 1203 in Normandy (307). Orival is a village 8 km. north-east of Aumale. Neither Geoffrey nor Hugh can be definitely cited as the ancestor of Fulk de Oyry, the count's steward. The family came to Lincolnshire, where they settled at Whaplode and Gedney on lands belonging to the counts of Aumale, and from here, before 1161, Fulk's grandmother Emecina gave Crowland abbey the churches of Whaplode and Gedney (308).

The Lincolnshire inheritance was apparently divided between the two secular sons of Emecina (whose husband's name is unknown), these being Fulk, the father of the steward, and Waleran: there were other sons who went into the church. Waleran seems to have taken Whaplode, whose church he confirmed to Crowland, while Fulk and Fulk's son the steward Fulk took Gedney and quarrelled with Crowland over Gedney church (309), but also

retained some rights in Whaplode church. Waleran was succeeded first by Lambert, his son and heir, and then (before 1230) by Robert, Lambert's son. Both Lambert and Robert are described as knights and probably Fulk the steward was a knight also, although his status is not very clear (310).

Fulk the steward had inherited his Lincolnshire lands by 1189, for he was seised of Whaplode church in the reign of Henry II. Some time before 1189 he appointed Hubert Walter, then legal assistant to Rannulf Glanville, but later archbishop of Canterbury and chief justiciar of England, to the church of Whaplode, a choice that may have helped Fulk's subsequent career (311). He occurs in Lincolnshire in the 1190s (312) and in 1196 he was at law over the partition of lands in Norfolk. At this, his first recorded appearance in the courts, he was using as an attorney William de Holbeach, who appears consistently in case after case acting for Fulk until his death before 1222 (313). The case was over the inheritance of Ralf Extraneus or l'Estrange, whose two daughters Emma and Matilda had married Philip de Burnham and Fulk de Ory respectively, and the disputed land lay in Norfolk and Shropshire (314). In 1199 and 1200 Fulk was accused of disseisins in Shropshire, probably in connection with his wife's inheritance (315).

How Fulk came to the attention of Count Baldwin de Béthune and Countess Hawisa is not known, but it is possible that Hubert Walter recommended him to Baldwin de Béthune while the two men were in Germany in connection with King Richard's ransom. Perhaps he was one of the young men who received a training in administration and being the son of one of the count's tenants, applied to him for office. He was evidently an outstanding administrator and his rise was meteoric. In May 1199 he was overseas in the service of the count of Aumale, possibly in connection with the treaty with Philip Augustus completed in August 1199, to which Count Baldwin was a pledge for the king (316). In 1200 he was named as an attorney for the count of Aumale as an alternative to Philip the clerk (probably Philip de Langbar, the count's steward, whom Fulk may have been replacing at this time) (317).

By 1201 Fulk had obtained the first of many land-holdings in Holderness, when Alice the daughter of Robert de Paull mortgaged to him for 60 years, for the sum of £40, all her late father's land of Paull Holme with the capital messuage. The sum owed was to be reduced yearly by 10s. and at the end of the 60 years Alice or her heirs could reclaim the land for £10. Any improvements made or buildings put up by Fulk or on his behalf would be compensated for by Alice and her heirs. The first witness to this remarkable document (which carefully avoids usury) was the abbot of Thornton, Lincolnshire (318). Paull Holme was a key place in Holderness, lying next to the



rich demesne lands of the counts at Little Humber, where the dairies of Holderness lay. Paull was one of the Humber ports and a ferry station for the Lincolnshire coast. How Fulk proposed to improve the land is evident from another charter of the daughters of Robert de Paull mentioning the ditch which Fulk had made there (319). It does not appear that the land was ever reclaimed, for it is found in the possession of Fulk's heirs c.1300 (320). At the same time, about 1201, Fulk acquired the dower lands of Hawisa de Blosseville in Halsham in Holderness for her life (321).

In 1204 Fulk was first described as the count's seneschal, when he received letters of protection going to Normandy with the count (322). Throughout his busy career he is rarely (only twice) described as the count's steward, although he was for many years the dominant figure in the household of Baldwin de Béthune and Hawisa, and subsequently in the household of William de Forz II. A parallel for this can be found in the career of Adam de Stratton, administrator for Countess Isabella de Aumale at the end of the 13th century, who "is never styled steward (or anything, save dominus) in the accounts, but during this period no one else is so styled. The stewardship of the estates, properly speaking, seems to have been in abeyance. Adam ... was the supreme authority" (323). Perhaps as Fulk's power grew he was succeeded by another man with the title of steward, for many of the stewards' periods of office are difficult to date precisely, but even if this were so, he appears to have retained his influence until 1220.

In the same year that Fulk was first called seneschal, 1204, King John made him a generous grant of privileges for his Gedney lands. He confirmed to Fulk all his tenements and free tenants, and quit him from suit of court at county, hundred, wapentake, and riding, with immunity from murdrum and view of frankpledge. The sheriff's serjeant was to be called to the view, and if he did not come the view should not therefore be stayed. Fulk was to have his court (sac and soc and toll and team) and all the profits of the court, the court to hear all pleas except pleas of the crown, and when these occurred they were to be attached by the coroners, by the sheriff's serjeant and Fulk's serjeant. Fulk and his heirs and free tenants were not to be put on assizes or recognitions or special juries (324). The grant of privileges is interesting in itself because it describes what happened to the pleas of the crown in a local court; it is also interesting in the context of Fulk's rise to power, because it gives him the powers usually associated with a barony (325) although the amount of land held by Fulk in Gedney only amounted to 8 carucates, 1/6 of a knight's fee (there was a further 4 carucates in Holbeach and Whaplode associated with the Gedney land) (326). He was also given free warren in Gedney at the same time, and his heirs subsequently claimed wreck at Gedney (327). These

privileges were bought by Fulk for 50 marks and 2 goshawks (328).

In August 1210 Fulk was in Dublin with the count of Aumale on John's Irish campaign (329). From 1210 to 1212 nothing is known of Fulk's activities. Throughout his life he issued and witnessed many charters, largely undated, some of which may have been issued at that time (330); but it is also possible that he was overseas, or on the king's expeditions to Scotland or Wales (the count of Aumale did not accompany these). He was named as a knight for a Grand Assize in Lincolnshire in 1212, but the writ was cancelled, probably in terms of the grant of immunity in 1204 (331).

Fulk's hours of greatest power were yet to come. In the autumn of 1212 Count Baldwin de Béthune died, and Fulk was an executor of his will, for in June and again in November 1213 the barons of the Exchequer were ordered to allow him the costs of stocking Baldwin's lands, and also the distribution of Baldwin's alms - defined, in part at least, as 40 quarters of corn left to Meaux abbey, where Count Baldwin was buried (332). In her third widowhood, Hawisa offered the enormous sum of 5,000 marks to King John not to be obliged to marry again, and to have her inheritance: her household, of which Fulk was the most important member, must have been struggling to raise the money. At this time, 1212-1214, Hawisa gave Fulk the manor of Wymering, Hants., part of her dower, for the nominal service of a pair of gilt spurs (333) and also extensive liberties in Holderness: freedom from suits of wapentake and all wards and tolls of castles, free passage of the Humber for himself and his men and goods (perhaps from Paull, where most of his land lay) and free warren at Dunnington in Holderness. He might also run his greyhounds throughout the land of Holderness after hares (334).

In (or shortly before) March 1214 Countess Hawisa died, and on 8 March 1214 Peter de Roches the bishop of Winchester was ordered to keep in the Temple the profits of all her lands in Hampshire, Berkshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire and Essex, which were in the custody of Fulk de Ory (335). Fulk held the land for one year, and was obliged to account to the Exchequer for the corn (336). The knights of the count of Aumale were during this time on the Poitevin expedition (337) and Fulk may have been with them in February 1214, until he was called home to look after the estates, for he appears in the Pipe Roll as a man lent money in Poitou (338).

Meanwhile the heir to the estates was cautiously negotiating with King John from a base overseas. The king wrote to him at an unknown date (probably 1214) that at the petition of Robert de Ros who had asked many

times that William de Aumale be allowed to come to the king, he had granted the request so that William could come to England to speak with the king about his rights, with a safe conduct to and in England, with a safe return if no agreement was reached (339). In the autumn of 1214 William de Aumale was given all his mother's inheritance in England with the proviso that he would receive no produce nor profit of the lands until he had married Aveline de Munfichet (340). Until this time it can be assumed that Fulk remained in charge of the lands. On 4 November William was called count of Aumale for the first time, and in another undated document, entered between one of November and one of October 1214, the knights and tenants of the lands of the count were told to be obedient to William and do homage to him before Robert de Ros and Fulk de Oryy (341).

After this splendid beginning Fulk continued to serve the new count, who was initially loyal to the king. In January 1215 Fulk was still collecting the late countess's debts and in the king's favour (342) but in May the count joined the rebellious barons in the movement leading to the granting of Magna Carta. The count of Aumale, and Fulk and Robert de Ros, the trio that had been present at the homage ceremony, were all in rebellion by May 1215. By August 1215 the count of Aumale was on the king's side again and was given custody of Scarborough castle, although Robert de Ros and possibly Fulk de Oryy stayed in rebellion (343). It was not until February 1216 that Fulk received 8 days' safe conduct from the king, and in March he made peace with the king, at a high price. He promised to hand over as hostages his son Geoffrey and his nephew Fulk, and a charter of faithful service, and also paid 500 marks for the king's favour and restoration of his lands in Lincolnshire, Shropshire, Hampshire, Norfolk and Suffolk (344). The fine was larger than that paid by most of the rebels, which were mainly between 10 marks and 100 marks (345). The money was paid through William de Holbeach, Fulk's bailiff, who also bought the king's favour for himself (346). William de Holbeach received letters of safe conduct to go through the counties and take seisin of the land of Fulk his lord, and in June Fulk himself received safe conduct to return to his lands (347).

Fulk's master the count of Aumale wavered towards Prince Louis's party in June 1216 but quickly returned to John again. By September Fulk was in the king's favour and was granted (perhaps bought) all the lands

once belonging to Baldwin de Béthune in Kent, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Northamptonshire and Worcestershire (348), and in January 1217, described as "dear and faithful" in the royal letters, he was to receive land in Shropshire of which he had been disseised by his wife's relatives when he was with the count of Aumale (349).

In 1218-1219 he was still actively working on behalf of the count when he came to the young king's council complaining that the justices in eyre were not doing justice to his master. The council sent down an exhortation to the justices, and received a surprised and hurt reply (350). In 1219 he was acting for the count, and was described as his bailiff, in the important case of William de Coleville and the disseisins around the castle of Bytham (351). The next year, 1220, he was removed from his position of count's attorney in a case against Gilbert de Gant, and another man substituted (352). Never again is Fulk found acting for the count of Aumale in any capacity. Perhaps the violent final years of John's reign had been enough for him, and as he saw his young count again verging on rebellion, culminating in the war of Bytham, he resigned to continue his acquisitive career in building up the family estates.

Lending money against land seems to have been one of the ways in which Fulk added to his properties, and there is some evidence to show that when he had acquired the land he improved it by draining it, which was one of the most effective ways of increasing the produce of the marshy Holderness plains, by building on it as he did at Hedon, or by exchanging pieces of land for others lying more conveniently, as he did at Dunnington. The techniques of draining marshy lands, which Fulk probably put into effect at Paull Holme, would be well known to him from the operations around his home in Lincolnshire, where much reclamation was carried out by Conan son of Ellis and other Lincolnshire landowners (353).

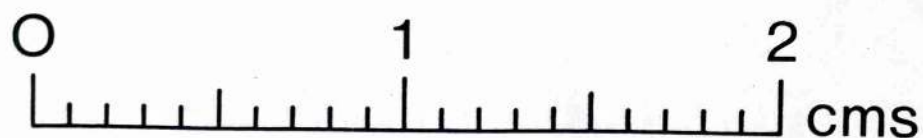
He rented land in Ottringham from the Lascelles family (354), acquired land in Newton Constable and in Newton Garth (355). He was granted c.1227 arable and meadow in Ottringham for 15 years for 30 marks paid in advance, and also the marriage of the grantor's son, the land to be used after the 15 years as dower. (356). He acquired in 1220 the land of Ivo de Deene in Deene and Stanion, Northamptonshire, for a term of years for money given Ivo to quit his land from the Jews (357), a method of acquiring lands also used by Adam de Stratton, a later steward of the Aumales. He was also given or bought lands from the king and the countess. Money seems to have been his way to success, but where his money came from is not known. In



1207 a tax of a 13th was levied on the whole population of England, and Fulk was an assessor of the 13th; he managed (in the opinion of his fellow assessors) to appropriate 200 marks for which he was called to account to the Exchequer (358). Some of his money was hidden at Swineshead abbey, and when the king's officers confiscated it, they also took the abbey's building fund. Chattels (which were valued for the 13th) of the countess of Aumale were hidden at Vaudey abbey, an Aumale foundation in Lincolnshire: Fulk probably arranged this (359). Such opportunities for making money as the 13th evidently presented would however come his way only rarely.

He acquired before 1222 a mill at East Winch, Norfolk, with all the multure, from Edward, Roger and Odo le Sire and from Odo in addition the land of his fee and his right to the advowson of East Winch (360). He was given land by Countess Hawisa in Hedon, to increase his holding, part of which he had bought and which lay by Hedon Haven, Fulk to do what he wished to and was able to on the land - another improvement by Fulk is here hinted at, perhaps to do with the haven trade (361). He also had a house in Hedon (362). Between 1221 and 1235 he exchanged small parcels of land in Dunnington in Holderness with Meaux abbey, a familiar part of the process of land improvement (363). Starting without land in Holderness, by the time of his death he had built up considerable property to leave his heir.

In Lincolnshire, where Fulk's ancestors had lived, amid his busy public life he kept up a series of lawsuits and claims to maintain or extend his rights. At the end of the reign of Henry II he conspired with other leading men of Elloe wapentake, under the leadership of the prior of Spalding, to deprive the abbey of Crowland of marsh lying between Spalding and Crowland. Fulk made his peace with the abbot c.1190 (364). In 1201 he was with 22 others found responsible for a disseisin at Fleet (365) and in 1203 he was involved in a dispute over land at Scopwick, when he again employed William de Holbeach (366). In 1202 he applied for a market to be moved from Fleet to Gedney and in 1205 he obtained a fair at Gedney (367). In 1205 Fulk and Gerard de Camville gave the enormous sum of 300 marks to have a perambulation of the marsh between the water of Spalding and the water of Tydd, so that each hundred should be given the marsh which should belong to it according to how many ploughs (or possibly carucates) it had, a scheme rather like an early enclosure by agreement, which was presumably followed by draining and improving of the marshes (368). During the civil war of John's reign Fulk was involved in a plea about Holland marsh (369). He acquired the wardship of Simon de Ver, son and heir of Walter de Ver, who held lands in both Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (including Sproatley in



12. Seal of Fulk de Oyry. Drawn from damaged original (HUL, DDCC/103/2).  
Hull University



Holderness) and many attempts to bring Fulk to court to deal with Walter's lands failed (370). He was made a trustee in a curious case in 1219, together with Magister Geoffrey Gibwin, who was steward of the abbot of Peterborough (371).

For the last years of his life he was concerned with defending his properties in both Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. His faithful aide all the years of his power, William de Holbeach, was dead by 1222 and typically Fulk had acquired a disputed wardship of his heir (372). He was taken to law over 2 carucates he had in Dunnington in Holderness but kept the land (373). In 1227 his liberties in Lincolnshire, his market and fair at Gedney, were confirmed and also his rights of court (374). From 1228 to 1231 he defended his rights to the advowson of Holbeach against the abbot of Crowland, his defence being that his grandmother Emecina could not grant Crowland the churches of Gedney and Holbeach as she only had dower rights in them, and also that Crowland's charters from Fulk's father were forged (375). In 1228 and 1229 he defended his right to Wymering manor, Hampshire, against the king (376).

Fulk de Oyry was replaced in the suit over Whaplode by another member of the family by 3 February 1231 and may be assumed to have died by that date (377). On 5 May 1231 the sheriff of Lincoln was ordered to allow his executors to execute his will (378). His face may be recorded on his extraordinary seal, unique among other Holderness seals of its date in showing the man's head and shoulders, wearing a classical helmet (379).

Fulk's heir was his son Geoffrey, who occurs in 1240 but was dead by 1242 (380). There were also two other Oyry men who were closely related to Fulk: John, called his son, who must have been illegitimate as the inheritance passed not to him but to his sisters, and William, who married the daughter of Robert the clerk of Brandesburton: both John and William occur in Fulk's lifetime witnessing charters together with Fulk (381). Geoffrey his heir may have been a disappointing son for Fulk, for he seems to have given away much of the Holderness land to another Aumale steward, Henry le Moigne (382). He left no surviving children, and the eventual heirs of Fulk were his three daughters and their descendants.

Fulk's daughter Alice married John Belet, eldest son of Michael Belet and Emma de Cheney. He was dead by 15 July 1203 when his heir paid his relief into the Norman exchequer (383). Alice, described as his widow, was claiming dower in 1206, one of her attorneys being William de Holbeach (384).

In 1205 Fulk paid 100 marks for the marriage of his daughter Alice, and in spite of an attempt by Thomas de Burg to buy the marriage for himself in 1208 for another 100 marks and 2 palfreys (385) and an earlier gift of her marriage to Ralf Tirell (386) Alice eventually married William de Beaumont, who shared in her father's inheritance.

Fulk's daughter Emma or Emecina married Ralf de Goxhill, and their son Giles was an heir to part of the Oyry inheritance (387).

Ella the third daughter married Robert Constable of Holderness with a dowry of  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate of land which Fulk had bought (388) and was dowered by her husband with Halsham and Tharlesthorpe in Holderness and Grasby, Lincolnshire (389). The Holderness lands went to the Constables in the partition of Fulk's estates: and it is because the Constables are still living in Holderness, with magnificent archives, that so many of Fulk's documents have been preserved and so much of his life can be reconstructed.

Some time after Fulk's death his house in Gedney with a windmill and some land was used as the endowment of a chantry chapel to pray for the souls of Fulk de Oyry, Geoffrey de Oyry, Roger de Thirkleby, William de Beaumont and Alice his wife, Fulk's son John and their families, and also to support five poor people there, to be administered by the abbey of North Creak, Norfolk. Part of the house was reserved to John de Oyry for his life, that part which was enclosed by the moat, at the drawbridge, where the hall, chamber, kitchen and chapel were, together with the garden and the dovecote. Fulk's house must have been substantial, for this was only part of it (390).



THE LIBERTY AND THE COURTS OF HOLDERNESS IN THE TIME OF THE COUNTS

The liberty and the courts of Holderness in the time of the counts

Farm of hundreds etc.

They say that the wapentake [of Holderness] used to be worth by the year £10. And in that wapentake is a serjeanty which is of the Crown, which, together with the aforesaid wapentake, the ancestors of Aveline (who was the wife of Lord Edmund, brother of the present king) held from the lord king at fee farm for 60s. And in the aforesaid serjeanty the ancestors of the aforesaid Aveline used to have a bailiff who had the office and pleas of the coroner throughout all Holderness. The count had return of writs and pleas of vee de nam and other royal liberties for the farm of 60s. which he rendered for the serjeanty of the wapentake of Holderness.

Rotuli Hundredorum I, 106, 133

Liberties and franchises

A liberty is a legal immunity or exemption from a particular burden, exaction or jurisdiction. The term also came to mean in the middle ages a district over which the privilege of a corporation or individual extended. In post-Conquest history the use of "liberty" in this sense is first recorded in England in 1166-1167 (1) and thereafter appears frequently. Holderness was such a liberty. The many privileges which made up a liberty were sometimes called franchises, and they were of many different types, such as exemptions from royal courts and royal officers, exemptions from public burdens, authorisations to make parks and warrens and the power to hold fairs and markets.

In some respects the distinctions between different kinds of franchise are artificial. Legal historians divide franchises into differing numbers of groups: Pollock and Maitland discuss five categories and Miss Cam defines three kinds, jurisdictional, administrative and fiscal (2). Holdsworth classifies franchises by the authority exercising them (3). In practice it is very difficult to fit privileges granted to a landholder into a scheme; in medieval records different kinds of privileges, such as sac and soc, wreck, the assize of ale and the right to gallows, are all listed together, as the articles of the eyre and the Hundred Rolls show. The questions asked by the Hundred commissioners in the first great survey of the liberties which were scattered all over England, include many inquiries about franchises, some in general terms such as:

Concerning those who have liberties granted to them by the kings of England and have used them as they should not; also concerning liberties which hinder common justice and subvert royal power. (Articles 9 and 10)

and also other more detailed inquiries such as:

Who claim to have from the king return or estreats of writs, and who holds pleas of *vee de nam*, and who claims to have wreck of the sea, by what warrant, and other royal liberties as gallows, assizes of bread and ale, and other things belonging to the crown, and from what time? (Article 8)

(4)

No distinction between the different kinds of franchises listed here appears to have existed in the minds of the authors of the Articles of October 1274. Neither Glanvill nor Bracton attempt to divide franchises into groups: in fact Glanvill was not interested in franchises at all (5). In Holderness, a highly privileged area, all the franchises seem to have been inter-related, and the basis of all the privileges exercised by the counts was the tenure of the wapentake and the associated return of writs, which included jurisdictional, administrative and fiscal rights.

No clear statement of the nature of the liberty of Holderness survives, and for various reasons all the great inquiries between 1086 and 1260 did not receive returns from the lords of Holderness. At the time of the making of Domesday Book no liberty is mentioned: in 1166 the count was one of those who did not return the cartae baronum demanded by the king, an omission which leaves an uncertainty about the service due from Holderness. There are no surveys of Holderness in 1212 and 1242, as there are for the Aumale lands in Lincolnshire (6). At the time of the inquiry which led to the making of the Hundred Rolls Holderness was in some confusion, for the heiress Aveline had just died (7), and at the later Quo Warranto inquiries the dowager countess was in possession of part of Holderness only and the rest was in the king's hands. Although there are returns for Holderness in both these two last records, they are not as detailed as they might be (8). As a result, there is a certain haziness about the nature of the liberty: in the late 19th century a law suit in chancery (Attorney General v. Constable) continued for many years over the foreshore rights of Holderness, and much of the contents of the volumes of evidence explored the nature of the liberty in the early medieval period. The suit was eventually abandoned without conclusion (9).

Nevertheless there are in the archives contemporary references to the nature of the liberty, from which a picture of its privileged position may be drawn.

The geographical extent of the liberty appears to have been the wapentake of Holderness, bounded on the east by the sea, on the south by the Humber estuary, on the west by the River Hull and on the north by the stream called the Earl's Dyke. One small township outside the geographical boundary, Little Kelk in the north, was sometimes described as "in Holderness" apparently because it was attached to the manor of Lissett and was thus drawn into the Holderness administration. By the early 14th century however it was no longer regarded as being in Holderness (10).

Within Holderness itself there were only three tenants in chief, the count of Aumale and the church, represented by the archbishop of York and the provost of Beverley minster (11). All three of these tenants in chief organised administrative systems, and had their own franchises, claimed throughout the centuries. All men in Holderness who were not tenants of the church came under the rule of the counts of Aumale.



### The origin of the liberty

In Domesday Book Heldrenesse or Holderness is referred to as a division or wapentake of the county of York (12). The lord of all the secular lands, Drogo de la Beuvrière, is called in the list of landowners Drogo de Heldrenesse, a natural result of the size of his holding in the district (13). No reference is made to the ownership of the wapentake or the existence of a liberty (only in Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk does Domesday Book investigate lay lords of hundreds to any extent) (14), but it is significant that Drogo claimed before the commissioners all the land in Holderness, including the lands of Beverley minster and land that William Malet held before he was captured in 1069 by the Danes (15), without offering reasons as to why he should hold this land. It seems probable from Drogo's claim to all the lands of Holderness that he had been granted by King William I the territory of Holderness in toto, and that he assumed that this included all the lands within the wapentake, whereas William could only grant Drogo the land forfeited by the Saxon lay owners. When however the Domesday commissioners examined the disputed lands, the canons of Beverley produced writs of Edward the Confessor (16) and William himself which were accepted as proof of their ownership, and these lands continued in the possession of the church until the Reformation (17).

According to the Holderness jurors, William Malet was in possession of some lands in Holderness until 1069; but no documentary evidence for this was shown to the Domesday commissioners, and the jurors had not seen the king's writ or seal concerning the lands. It is possible that Malet was in possession as the sheriff of Yorkshire, not as a feudal tenant: whatever his title, the lands are subsequently found in possession of Drogo's descendants.

The hypothetical grant of William I to Drogo de la Beuvrière (no document survives) was probably made after 1071 (the confiscation of Morcar's estates) and certainly before 1086 (the making of Domesday Book) and it created the honour of Holderness, although the term was not to be used until many years later, in 1223 (18).

Before the Conquest a number of estates in Holderness was in the hands of the church and a number in the hands of different lay owners, and there was no such thing as a lordship of Holderness. From the date limits of the grant to Drogo, it can be deduced that it was the decision of the

Conqueror to weld all the Holderness estates into one block, and to grant it to one man to hold. The reason is not hard to guess. After the Conquest the enemy of England was Denmark, long opposed to control of England by Normandy. Successive invasions came, in 1066, 1069 and 1070. The classic pattern of attack was by the Humber to York, and this pattern was repeated in subsequent conquests of England by Henry IV and Edward IV. It seems to have been the policy of the Conqueror to establish compact blocks of territory on coasts and marches where a particularly strong defence was needed, and these blocks of land often were granted or acquired widespread franchises (19). It is suggested that Holderness was a smaller and less privileged version of the great palatinates and marcher lordships. The most strategically important parts of England were given by the Conqueror to his closest relatives, and after Drogo, the Domesday tenant, who was related to William by marriage, had forfeited Holderness, it was regranted to Odo count of Champagne, the Conqueror's brother in law.

The 12th-century chronicler Orderic Vitalis refers to the grant to Odo as of "the county of Holderness" (20) which implies that the land was already regarded as both an entity which would later be called an honour, and possibly as an exceptional liberty, an area with the rights of a county. Little is known of Holderness under Odo, but later the abbot of St Mary's York claimed that Odo granted the abbey wreck of the sea at Hornsea, a privilege that only the lord of an extensive liberty could hold himself (and therefore grant) (21).

There is not very much evidence about the liberty of Holderness in the first half of the 12th century, but what little evidence there is suggests that already the counts had extensive powers of exclusion of royal officers: and exclusion of the sheriff during this period meant in practice the enjoyment of almost complete judicial and police authority. Possibly the king took the profits of the pleas of the crown, and the profits of the rare visits of royal justices, but if an honour could exclude the sheriff (as Holderness did) it also sometimes tried to exclude the justices (22). This may lie behind William de Forz II's refusal to have any dealings with the eyre in 1218-1219 (23).

While Stephen was count of Aumale King Henry I in dealing with Holderness between 1112 and 1122 addressed his writ to the count, the count's steward by name and the count's ministers (24). This can be

taken to mean that the king's officers were already excluded from Holderness as they were from an early date in Cheshire, Shropshire and Hereford (25).

By 1130 Count Stephen's successor, Count William le Gros, was accounting directly to the exchequer for the pleas of his land of Holderness, an entry which suggests some franchisal powers and also shows that Holderness was regarded by the exchequer as a unit. The ancient pleas of Holderness are accounted for by the sheriff of Yorkshire: but this probably indicates a minority just ended, rather than an immunity just established (26).

A later confirmation of the liberty to the count of Aumale in 1227 refers to his wapentake of Holderness with all liberties and free customs which his predecessors as counts had held in the time of Henry II, Richard I and John (27). The age of the liberty here is shown as at least as old as Henry II's reign, but this is probably because in 1227 the reign of Henry II was regarded as the limit of legal memory, and does not rule out an earlier origin. The first recorded occasion on which Holderness was called a liberty was 1206 (28).

It must not be supposed that the franchises remained the same throughout the period of almost 200 years, from 1086 to 1260. In the earlier period, up to about 1160, the counts' rights would be extensive but ill-defined, perhaps expressed in some such phrase as "I have sac and soc and toll and team and infangethef and outfangethef" (which the abbot of Thornton defined in 1293 as a free court for his tenants and the villeins)(29), or perhaps "I hold my land as freely as any baron" (30). In King Stephen's reign William le Gros added more privileges to those he inherited, including that of a quasi-royal mint at Hedon (31), so that he was "king beyond the Humber". The independence of the liberty waxed and waned, reaching its apogee in Stephen's reign.

It was the extension of the king's jurisdiction under Henry II that forced liberties such as Holderness to define themselves and become more effective or perish. To paraphrase Professor Barraclough, from Henry II's time honour after honour disintegrated, and all that remained were shadowy collections of feudal superiorities (Maitland's "unintelligible list of obsolete words"). The few honours that managed to survive adapted themselves to the new situation, changing their character and even growing with the new processes of government, adding new officers and new offices to ape the king's government, copying his writs and forms of trial: for in competition with a central government conscious of new powers and moving ahead, to mark time was to go under (32).

### The nature of the franchises

The most important privilege held by the counts of Aumale was the hereditary tenure of the wapentake court of Holderness. The counts appear to have been in possession by 1130, and may have held the wapentake court since c.1071, when Holderness was given to Drogo de la Beuvrière; and in 1218-1219 what this meant in terms of privilege was reported by the local jurors to the justices in eyre in these words:-

The jurors say that the count of Aumale ought to present his serjeant in the county court of York to do the business of the lord king within the wapentake of Holderness: and he pays 60s. per year to the county court of York to be quit of suit from his wapentake.

(33)

The sum of 60s. is variously described as "for the serjeanty", "for quittance of suit from the wapentake to the county court", "for the serjeanty and wapentake held at fee farm", all these three apparently regarded as synonymous. There is no trace of this 60s. being entered in the Yorkshire pipe rolls: it would be a long-established payment, part of the county farm, and therefore not listed separately. However the farm and increment for the wapentake of Langbargh, in the North Riding, that Peter de Brus committed himself to pay when he bought the wapentake for 400 marks in 1207 (34) occur regularly in the pipe rolls, possibly because of their more recent origin.

The wapentake was confirmed to the counts in 1227 (35) and the mid 13th-century eyre rolls and the later records of 1260 and 1274 repeat that the wapentake was held by the counts (36). The confirmation of 1227 and the verdict of the Hundred jurors show that the count's other privileges in Holderness were considered as appurtenant to the wapentake:-

The king to the sheriff of Yorkshire greeting. We order you to allow W. count of Aumale to hold his wapentake of Holderness with all liberties and free customs both in ports and also in other things which his predecessors counts of Aumale held there in the times of King H. our grandfather, King R. our uncle and the Lord King J. our father, until the war waged between him and his barons: and guard and maintain that count in the same liberties.

(37)

The jurors say that the count had return of writs there and pleas of vee de nam and other royal liberties for the farm of 60s. that he rendered for the serjeanty of the wapentake of Holderness.

(38)

Private tenure of a wapentake or hundred was not at all uncommon. Many wapentakes or hundreds were granted to private individuals by the



crown, or came into private hands in other ways. Miss Cam quotes several hundreds which were granted away by the Anglo-Saxon kings: some of these grants were perhaps as old as the hundred institution itself (39). By the accession of Edward I, 358 out of about 628 hundreds or wapentakes were in private hands. Henry II made at least 52 such grants; John 55 and Henry III 108 (40). In Yorkshire the wapentakes of Staincross and Osgoldcross were held by the earls of Lincoln at fee farm, the three wapentakes of Richmond were in private hands, the citizens of York held the wapentake of Ainsty, and Peter de Brus and his heirs held the wapentake of Langbargh from 1207 (41). Many details of private rights in Lancashire hundreds are also recorded (42). To possess rights in a hundred it was not necessary to have a royal charter, for some rights had been acquired over the centuries, and length of tenure was sufficient title (43).

What did the tenure of the wapentake mean to the counts of Aumale? First of all, it meant that the counts, by possessing the wapentake, had acquired the undefined powers of the wapentake court, mainly powers of criminal and civil jurisdiction, but also powers over the assizes of bread and ale or measures, the swearing in of bailiffs, the reading of letters of attorney, and the proclamation of royal letters and statutes (44). Unfortunately very little is known of wapentake courts in the 12th century; they must have been valuable indeed for Peter de Brus to pay 400 marks for Langbargh wapentake in addition to an annual payment (45). What is known of the 13th-century wapentake court of Holderness is recorded below (46).

In addition to his tenure of the wapentake, a not uncommon privilege, the count of Aumale had a much rarer franchise, the return of writs. First mentioned in the Curia Regis rolls of John's reign, this liberty arose from the procedural innovations of Henry II's government (47). The effect of this was to prevent the sheriff of the county entering Holderness on the king's business; when the sheriff received a writ for Holderness he gave it to the bailiff of the wapentake, who had at the beginning of his term of office taken an oath in the county court at York to do the king's business, and the bailiff executed the writ and returned it to the sheriff and so to the central government. This was not the highest form of the franchise, for certain areas such as Richmond claimed the right to have

writs addressed directly to them from central government (and in some, very privileged areas, such as the palatinate of Durham, the king's writ did not run) but it was nevertheless a great privilege (48). The right to serve writs included the right of gathering a jury (a privilege from which the bailiff made money) (49), summoning men involved in law suits in royal courts, seizing land and giving seisin, and of collecting debts due to the crown and distraining for them (50). This right of distraint could be attached to other agreements, as for instance in the early 13th century the lord of Sutton (Hull) granted Swine abbey a right of way through Bilton, Drypool and Southcoates (now parts of Hull but formerly on the western boundary of Holderness and the eastern boundary of Harthill wapentake). The penalty for obstructing the right of way was 60s. paid to the king "and the sheriff of York or the bailiff of Holderness is to made distraint for the fine" (51).

Only a small number of barons possessed the privilege of return of writs (52). The count of Aumale possessed the franchise from at least 1218-1219 and probably from 1206, and his heirs claimed return of writs before the Hundred commissioners at the end of the 13th century (53).

What was done about writs for the archbishop's and Beverley minster's lands, other highly privileged areas within the liberty, is not clear from the available evidence. The archbishop and the provost of the minster had return of writs in Beverley town, but the archbishop did not claim the privilege for his Holderness manors, nor for the provost's manors in Holderness (54). Probably the bailiff of Holderness executed writs in these manors also: for he is known to have done so on one occasion within the lands of the abbey of St Mary's York. The abbey was tenant of the count in Hornsea, possessed wide privileges throughout its lands and was dealt with by the itinerant justices under a separate heading "The Liberty of St Mary's York". In 1251-1252 a case in the liberty went against the abbot, and a writ to assign land and rent to the plaintiff went from the sheriff of Yorkshire to the bailiff of the liberty of Holderness, and the bailiff, with the help of a jury, assigned the land and rent and put the plaintiff in seisin (55). In this case at least the bailiff acted as if he was in the count's lands held by laymen, but there is no evidence to show if this was the general rule in the archbishop's or provost's Holderness lands also (56).

If the bailiff of Holderness did not execute the writs he received from the sheriff of Yorkshire, the sheriff could do nothing without the special writ non omittas propter libertatem, until by the Statute of Westminster, 1275, this situation was amended so that the sheriff could enter a liberty more easily (57). Before the Statute there were many recorded occasions when (at least according to the sheriff) the bailiff of the liberty of Holderness did not execute the writs properly. In 1206 two people were absent from court and could not be found, because they were in the liberty of the count of Aumale (58). In 1218-1219 the sheriff at the eyre reported "touching all things which belong to the lord king, such as pleas of the crown and attachments etc., he can say nothing because of the count of Aumale" (59). In 1230-1231 the steward of the count was accused by the sheriff of not making distrainments for exchequer debts (60). In 1259-1260 the sheriff was ordered to produce an accused man to the eyre: and he witnessed that "he had given orders to the bailiff of the liberty which belonged to the count of Aumale in Holderness who did nothing". This particular complaint was followed by a writ "non omittas" (61).

A small bundle of original writs and returns from 1266 survives, showing the operation of the return of writs in the time of the dowager countess Isabella. The first writ went from central government to the sheriff of Yorkshire ordering him to attach Walter de Pickering to answer charges made against him in an action of trespass, for breaking into a house and stealing money and goods (62). The order was passed on to Simon de Preston, the sheriff of Holderness, who had the return of writs. Simon replied vehemently to the sheriff of York that concerning the attachment he was in no way willing to answer and that he would not on any account allow the sheriff of York or the bailiffs of the lord king to enter within his bailiwick to execute any order of the lord king that the sheriff of York might send from the court. He had however distrained Walter to appear, but apparently no-one came to the royal court, for another writ arrived for the sheriff of York (63). This was a "non omittas propter libertatem de Holderness" and added some more names to that of Walter de Pickering as wanted men, including Walter's two sons. In spite of the new writ the dorse is covered with the despairing answer of the sheriff of York: the sheriff of Holderness, Adam his bailiff and others will in no way allow the sheriff or bailiffs of the lord king to enter the wapentake to do any business belonging to the lord king "neque per brevem neque sine brevi". "And so", concludes the message on the dorse, "concerning your

writs applying to Holderness we can in no way answer in the proper manner until a remedy is provided by the lord king and his council". The remedy is not recorded, but a similar flouting of royal authority in 1268 led to the temporary confiscation of the liberty (64).

In spite of the wide powers conferred on the count's land of Holderness by the return of writs it was by no means as exalted as a palatinate, such as Durham, Chester, Tyndale and the lordships of the Welsh marches. The king's writ did not run in those lands, the lords had their own chanceries, justices and sheriffs, they kept all the profits of government and the eyre did not hold sessions there (65). The counts of Aumale did not exclude the eyre from Holderness, and from the first record of financial payments levied by the eyre appearing in the pipe rolls, Holderness wapentake and Holderness men feature (66). The money was collected by the count's officers and not the king's, but the profits of the eyre went to the crown and not to the count. The count did not have the right to appoint his own justices, unlike the provost of Beverley minster in Beverley town, whose justices sat with the eyre. The count's bailiff and his coroner were fined by the eyre for failures of administration, and so was the count himself (67). Writs could be issued from central government to any of the men of Holderness, even against the count himself. The count did however have one unusual privilege associated with the eyre, the power to exclude the royal coroner.

Although by 1300 there were perhaps some 50 franchisal coroners in England (68), in the early part of the 13th century the privilege of excluding the coroner seems to have existed chiefly in the marcher districts and was probably connected with the palatine powers of the marcher lordships. The only baron in the hinterland who had this privilege without other palatine powers was the count of Aumale in Holderness (69), whose coroner is first mentioned about 1231. The advantage to the count of a coroner of his own was to safeguard the pleas of the crown, so that the count could receive all the financial benefits due to him, and to prevent any royal coroner from entering the liberty. The same motives in the 14th century led to the appointment of a franchisal eschaetor for Holderness (70). The Holderness coroner dealt not only with the count's lands but "had the pleas of the coroner throughout all Holderness" (71). Neither the archbishop of York nor the provost of Beverley claimed any exemption from the coroner for their Holderness lands.



Wreck and treasure trove were among the responsibilities of the coroner, and it is probably because the counts of Aumale had their own coroner that they claimed the franchise of wreck (anything cast upon the shore from which no living thing survived). On only one recorded occasion the sheriff of Yorkshire accounted for a Holderness wreck - this was in 1166, before the establishment of the private coroner (72). On other occasions wrecks there were registered by the franchisal coroner (73), and wreck was claimed for the counts and their heirs in 1274 (74). No claim was made on their behalf before the Quo Warranto commissioners, but the abbot of St Mary's York claimed wreck at Hornsea "by this warrant, that he had the manor of Hornsea by the gift of Count Odo who came with King William the Bastard, conqueror of England, the count having wreck belonging to that manor". The jury agreed with this statement (75).

In 1291 an inquiry was made into the value of the bailiwick of Holderness. The jurors found that it was of no determinable value, but had wreck upon the coast and upon the bank of the Humber (76). The only two exceptions to the count's privilege of wreck were in the manor of Hornsea and the manor of Patrington, the last being claimed by the archbishop of York (77). Many English lords owned the privilege of wreck, but it does not appear to have been of great value or importance (78), although in the earliest Holderness account roll of 1262-1263 one wreck was worth the unusually large amount of £21 2s. to the countess of Aumale (79). There is no evidence relating to treasure trove.

The right to hear pleas of "vetitum namii" or vee de nam, was another rare franchise claimed by the counts in Holderness (80). These were pleas dealing with the taking and detaining of chattels as distrainments, and English kings from Henry II onwards endeavoured to make all such pleas come into the royal courts. In 1244 and again in 1252 Henry III ordered the sheriffs to allow no-one to hold such pleas without a royal charter or proof of tenure before 1216. To Bracton vee de nam was a plea of the crown, although it could be heard by the sheriff (81). It seems however that in the lands of a franchise with return of writs there would be no opportunity for the sheriff to hear such a plea, and that therefore return of writs included the franchise of vee de nam. There was always the possibility of interference by the justices in eyre: in 1257 the jurors of Holderness told the eyre that the count held pleas of vee de nam in

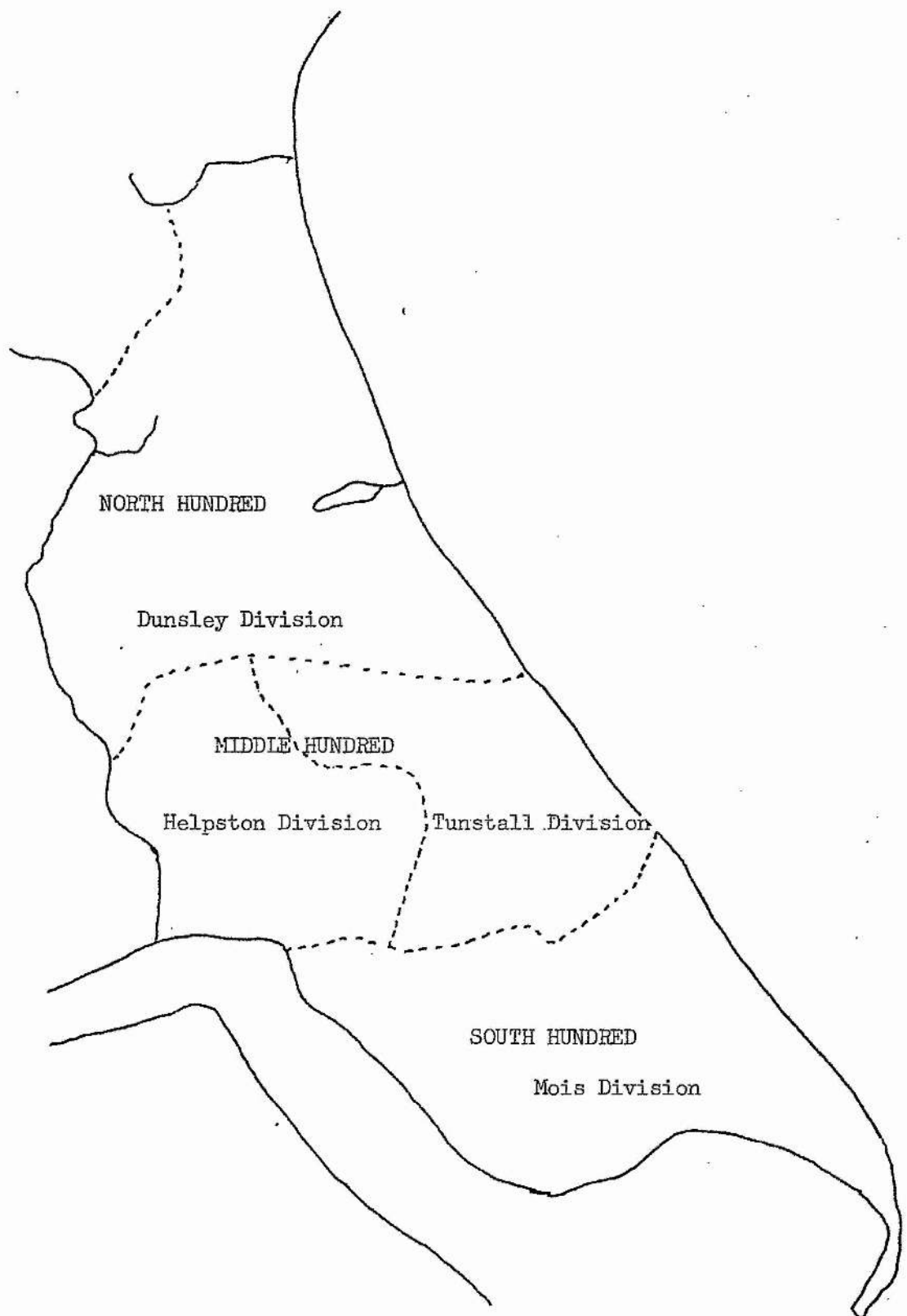
Holderness, but they did not know by what warrant. The entry is marked "Ideo unde loquend'" in the roll (82) but the outcome is unknown.

Below the rare franchises just considered come a medley of more ordinary exemptions, those known as sac and soc (the right to hold a court, try cases and receive the profits), toll and team, infangethef (the right to hang a thief from the demesne caught red-handed in the demesne), outfangethef (the right to hang a thief from outside the demesne) and the assizes of bread and ale. There is no record of the counts actually exercising these privileges, but they were claimed by the count's tenant, Robert de Ros, for his Holderness manor of Roos in 1274 (83) and it seems logical to assume that the tenant could not have possessed these privileges unless the counts did also. This view is reinforced by a fine of 1242 between William de Ros and the count, about William's free court at Roos. The count allowed William to exercise judgement in cases of infangethef and to keep the chattels of the thief hanged: but the judgement was to be done in the presence of the count's bailiff of Holderness who had done fealty in the county court at the attachment of the pleas of the crown that belonged to the sheriff in Holderness (84). Bracton maintained that no-one could delegate royal powers, because the grantees received them in trust from the king, and they could in fact have their powers confiscated if they subinfeudated them. This was not established in law, merely in theory, at this time. But it was probably because of this theory that the fine between William de Ros and the count (which was made before the royal justices) included the phrase about the bailiff (85).

A further privilege recorded in 1291 as formerly possessed by the counts was waif, or the right to stolen goods abandoned by the thief; but there is no evidence of the counts exercising this right nor that of the similar right of stray over unclaimed animals. Deodands, objects that had caused the death of a human being, were accounted for by the bailiff of Holderness to the eyre, a cart and a horse being mentioned (86).

Other privileges not considered here, as being of a different nature, are the counts' warrens, their fairs and markets, ferries and so on. The brief existence of a comital mint, during the reign of King Stephen, a clear usurpation of royal prerogative which was soon abandoned, is considered elsewhere in connection with the borough of Hedon (87).

What did the liberty of Holderness amount to? It was one of the greater liberties of England, excluding all the royal officers except the justices in eyre. It never reached the exalted heights of the greatest palatinates, except perhaps in the ill-documented reign of Stephen, but may be said to be at the top of the second rank of immunities. Except for grants made by the crown before the lordship of Holderness was created, it would appear that the lords of Holderness had all the land and all the jurisdiction of the king's courts within Holderness. They had their own sheriff. They had return of writs and processes. They had their own coroner. They had their own court in the wapentake court. Holderness in short was little less than a county palatine. The counts had all royal franchises, the wrecks of the sea and coast, deodands and every forfeit that could arise. The king derived no profit from Holderness except the military service of the counts, the 60s. a year paid for the wapentake and the fines levied by the eyres. No record is found in the exchequer of any receipt by the crown from the liberty except (at a later period) as lord of Holderness, and there is no instance of any executive officer of the crown except the justices in eyre and the king's court ever intermeddling with Holderness (88). Most of the privileges of the liberty were considered to arise from the tenure of the wapentake court, which is now discussed in more detail.



The administrative divisions of medieval Holderness. The coastline is that of the 20th century.



### The wapentake court

The administrative divisions of Holderness are of great complexity, and their early history is difficult to disentangle. It seems probable that the Danish settlers came to consider Holderness a shire, like the area around Richmond which kept the name "Richmondshire" or the parallel Howdenshire or Allertonshire (89). Holderness however was not called a shire in medieval records, except on one occasion by the chronicler Orderic Vitalis who called it a "comitatus" (90). As the hundred system originating in Wessex was imposed on the whole country in the 10th century, Holderness was sub-divided into three hundreds, as Richmondshire was divided into five wapentakes (91). At the time of Domesday, Holderness was a territorial unit, divided into three hundreds, south, middle and north (92). These divisions continued throughout the middle ages and are referred to in the Meaux chronicle as "minor bailiwicks". One boundary, mentioned in the chronicle 1235-1249, was the Lambwath stream, which divided the middle bailiwick from the northern, and incidentally ran through the site of the abbey of Meaux (93). The boundary between the south and middle divisions was from the Humber up Hedon Haven to Burstwick (dividing Burstwick), then east to a stream once called Keyingham Fleet and now called successively Halsham Drain, Roos Drain and Tunstall Drain, following the course of the stream to the coast at Sand le Mere, in Tunstall parish.

The threefold division was still extant when Poulson wrote his history of Holderness in the mid 19th century, and the scheme of Poulson's book is based on it. To a limited extent the divisions survive into the present century, dividing Holderness in the East Riding volume of the Place Names Society (94) and naming the petty sessional divisions.

The East Riding is unique in Yorkshire for having hundreds in Domesday Book, and apart from Cheshire and part of Lancashire no other northern shire has hundreds (as opposed to wapentakes). The term hundred or wapentake appears to have been used by the Domesday commissioners for the East Riding indifferently, for one division ("Toreshou") is called on one occasion a hundred and on another occasion a wapentake (95). The significance of these small divisions is much debated, but by 1160 at the latest the sixteen hundreds of the East Riding had been regrouped into six wapentakes (96). In Holderness, because the three hundreds were held as one unit by the counts of Aumale, and one chief bailiff administered them all, for practical purposes they were permanently merged into the wapentake of Holderness. One court, the wapentake court, served all three

hundreds, a feature of early groups of hundreds found elsewhere in England (97). Miss Cam suggests, and this seems to be exactly what happened in Holderness, that in similar cases the court for a group of hundreds is really the court of a district that existed before the hundred had become the standard administrative unit.

So in Holderness the wheel turned full circle. The district of Holderness probably had a court in the days of the Danish settlers: in the 10th century the district was divided into three hundreds (which may once have had their own courts, though none are recorded). In the hundred years after the Conquest the three hundreds returned to their former unity, as the wapentake of Holderness.

Within a hundred years of Domesday Book all the 1086 hundreds of the East Riding had been regrouped into wapentakes. Nevertheless so conservative were the medieval Yorkshiremen that the hundred division continued to exist within the wapentake divisions, although apparently of no importance (98).

After the three hundreds of Domesday coalesced into Holderness wapentake, in addition it became at some point convenient to re-divide the country for administrative purposes, and instead of reverting to the tripartite arrangement, Holderness was divided from at least the 13th century into four parts (the bailiwicks of Mois, Dunsley, Tunstall and Helpston) a division which lasted, alongside the tripartite division, into the 19th century (99).

How often the court of the district, the wapentake court, met during the 12th century is not known: but according to all the available evidence, it met every three weeks during the 13th century; according to royal edict of 1234, all hundred or wapentake courts were supposed to meet three-weekly (100).

Where the wapentake court met before the mid 12th century is equally unknown, but by 1160-1182 it met at Hedon at least once, and again there once between 1197 and 1210 (101). In the 13th century it is usually described as meeting at Hedon (102), although in 1250-1251 a man complained that he was being distrained to do suit sometimes at Burstwick, sometimes at Hedon and sometimes at Skipsea, at the count's will (103). The court eventually settled permanently at Hedon, where a Hall of Pleas or courthouse is first mentioned in 1257 (104). In the first detailed Hedon borough charter of 1346 the burgesses agreed to allow their lord to hold the wapentake courts in the town's Hall of Pleas and to keep his prisoners in their prison (105). The courthouse was from later evidence a timber-framed building, with infill of wattle and daub, and a tiled roof (106). Hedon was not a place of great antiquity, but was created

by the counts of Aumale in the mid 12th century out of the fields of Preston and Burstwick. It cannot therefore have been the traditional meeting place of the territorial court in the 11th century or earlier, and it was also poorly placed geographically to serve all Holderness. The court must have been deliberately moved to Hedon, by the count of Aumale, indicating both his power over the wapentake and his desire to build up his newly created borough.

There is in existence an inquiry into the land holdings of Holderness c.1273-1275 which lists those who owed suit to the wapentake (107). No suits to courts are mentioned except those due to the wapentake court, and, on one occasion, to the court at Hedon, which is taken to be a synonym for the wapentake court. Suit was owed by the land rather than by the men holding the land, so that one man may be listed several times, as owing suit for different lands. Other examples of this are an entry in the 1251 Yorkshire assize roll, that Peter de Brus owed suit "for a free holding that he had in Burton"; evidently he owed suit not as a man but as a man holding a particular piece of land (108), and there is another example in Holderness in 1246 where service was owed by land in three villages to the count (109). In a lease of 1262 made by Countess Isabella to Meaux abbey of land at Wawne, there is reference to "all service, suit of court to the wapentake, and those things pertaining to the land", implying that the suit belonged to the land (110).

It was the count's tenant in chief who owed the suit, not the subtenants (although they often owed the forinsec service) even though the tenant in chief might have sold everything but the capital messuage. In one place William de Lascelles held at one time from the count in chief 4 carucates: he had sold all except the capital messuage but still at a later date he owed and performed forinsec service and suit of wapentake (111).

A man who held from the count in chief in one vill and did suit, might in the next vill be a sub-tenant or even tenant of a sub-tenant. The holdings that owed suit to the wapentake could be as small as 1 bovat (William le Moigne) or as large as  $23\frac{1}{2}$  carucates (Ingelram de Monceaux) (112).

The only church land in the list of c.1273-1275 to owe suit to the wapentake court was that of the prior of Bridlington. The other ecclesiastical tenants of Holderness, Aumale abbey, Swine, Nunkeeling, Meaux, Thornton and the Templars are not listed as owing suit, although

this may be due to some peculiarity of the survey as there is a record of the abbot of Meaux coming to the wapentake court (113). Swine was granted royal exemption from suit on its demesne lands in the 12th century (114).

To collate some approximate numbers from the survey of 1273-1275, 55 men owed 88 suits on about 212 carucates of land. Holderness had, by the same survey, about 402 carucates of land, although this of course included the archbishop's land. At the time of Kirkby's Quest, 1284-1285, there were said to be 352 carucates in Holderness of the count of Aumale's fee (other land being held of the archbishop of York) (115). The figures can be approximate only, as there are certain ambiguities in the 1273-1275 survey: in particular it is not always clear if the survey is dealing with the count's fee (where 8 bovates made a carucate) or the archbishop's fee (where 12 bovates made a carucate). But it may be concluded that only half the total land in Holderness (212 out of 402 carucates) owed suit to the wapentake court, and only two-thirds of the count's lands (212 out of 352 carucates).

Of the remaining lands in the 1273-1275 survey, which did not owe suit to the wapentake, some paid money rents, some were tallaged and therefore presumably were the count's demesne, some were held in free alms. For a small number of holdings no services are mentioned, perhaps none were owed, or else the jurors did not know what they were. The lands belonging to the archbishop's fee and held by the counts as tenants are among those for which no services or suits are mentioned.

Almost all the men owing suit to the wapentake in the 1273-1275 survey held by military service (the exceptions being a small number of tenants in serjeanty). It is not known if the men below them in status, the free tenants who paid rent, the cottars and the bondmen (all mentioned in 1260 as tenants of the count) (116), were obliged to attend the wapentake court. As a general rule in England all free tenants owing suit were supposed to attend the wapentake court, and all plaintiffs and their opponents; in addition there was a communal obligation on each vill for the reeve and 4 men, usually villeins, to appear for certain great courts (117). These great courts in England were usually for the view of frankpledge, but in Holderness there was no frankpledge and no view before the end of the 13th century. However a list of the wapentake fines due for the counts of Brittany in



Richmondshire c.1184 shows that in Hallikeld 15 fines were due, some from fees (such as the chamberlain's fee and the butler's fee) and some from individuals and some from villis: in Hang there were 17 fines and in Gilling 28 fines. They varied from 12d. to 36s. (118). Frankpledge was not in existence in Richmondshire in 1184, so it was apparently not necessary to have frankpledge to have the villis represented at the wapentake courts.

There is no evidence to show if the villis were represented at wapentake courts in Holderness before 1260: but as the villis of Holderness were presenting crimes to the justices in eyre as early as 1190 (119), it seems likely that representatives attended wapentake courts for the first hearing of cases they subsequently brought to the eyre.

55 suitors, or 88 suits, is not an excessively high number to attend the wapentake court, as Miss Cam cites one exceptional hundred court where 270 suitors owed service (120) and one 12th-century court with 82 suitors and another of 61 suitors. 70-80 suitors is normally the maximum number (121). The suits to the wapentake court of Holderness are however complicated by the fact that the court also served as the honour court for Holderness and practically there can have been little difference between the feudal and franchisal jurisdiction of the counts in Holderness (122). It was not unusual for a baronial court to become merged in a wapentake court, for this is what happened in the court of the honour of Clitheroe, which was also the wapentake court of Blackburn, and elsewhere in England the same union took place (123). In theory every lord of an honour might hold a court of the barons of the honour, but in fact few did and fewer maintained them in the 13th century. Many lords exercised different jurisdictions in one court, as the count of Aumale did, bringing territorial, franchisal and baronial business into the same court (124).

The counts of Aumale were anxious not to lose suits owed to the wapentake court, and made efforts to hold their tenants to their obligations. The count distrained for service due to the court, as in 1240 for freeholds in Rysome, Rimswell and Garton (125), in 1246 for holdings in Mappleton, Rolston and Owstwick (126). He could also quit-claim the service as a special privilege, but apparently only did so for the life of the tenant, as in 1240 Beatrice de Fribois was excused (127).

In c.1212 - 1214 Countess Hawisa freed Fulk de Oyry from "wapentakes and suits of them" (128).

Such quitclaims were probably only of the necessity to pay suit, for if the privileged person were a party in a law case he could hardly be excused. Between 1207 and 1209 Peter de Brus granted his knights and free tenants and their men of Cleveland that they should not be summoned or brought to law in the wapentake of Langbargh except by consideration of the wapentake court or by reason of the sacrabar (129). By this charter all the men of Cleveland seemed to have been granted immunity from the court. In 1260 a fine was made over suit of court at Bielby, near the count of Aumale's manor of Pocklington in the East Riding: the count's bailiffs had distrained the tenant of Bielby to do suit at Pocklington. In future he was to do suit at Bielby only "so often as judgement is to be done therein or plea moved by writ of the lord king or when any thief is there indicted or by afforcement of the court" (130). A similar case of occasional attendances at court is recorded at the same period for Barforth in the West Riding, and for Sutton under Whitestonecliff in the North Riding (131).

Some suitors to wapentake courts apparently commuted their services for money payment and attended only occasionally. In the case of the three wapentakes of Richmondshire in c.1184 quoted above, it was already possible to value each suit in money terms. Evidence for commutation of suit to the wapentake court of Holderness is not plentiful, but there is a note in the Bridlington Chartulary that the bailiff of the liberty of Holderness received every year from the manor of Skirlington 2s. for "fines of wapentake" (132), and there is also a lease made in 1262 by Countess Isabella de Forz to the abbey of Meaux of lands at Wawne, reserving the annual payment of 12 marks "for all service, suit of court to the wapentake and those things to the land pertaining" (133).

What kind of business was dealt with in the wapentake court of Holderness? There are no surviving rolls for the court before the reign of Elizabeth I, so that knowledge of what happened in the court in the 12th and 13th centuries is shadowy, and in part derived from other similar courts elsewhere. Some references to the court do however exist in the archives of the time.

The functions of all wapentake courts were varied. Firstly as a territorial court the hundred or wapentake possessed some criminal and civil jurisdiction, diminishing in amount from the time of Henry II onwards, as more and more categories of cases were reserved for the eyre.

Criminal cases could begin either by appeal (the older process) or by presentment. The subsequent steps in both processes are described by Glanvill, but he does not name the court in which these took place (134). In an appeal the injured party, or someone in a near (carefully defined) relationship to him laid a formal accusation against the defendant. Many appeals were first made in the lesser courts of England, in hundred or wapentake, borough or franchise. This initial hearing however was unimportant compared with the county court hearing, which was the appeal enrolled by the coroners (after their establishment in the 1190s), and checked before the justices.

The first appeals in the lesser court of hundred, borough or franchise were informal and seem (although this is not clear from the evidence) to be optional, that is, not a necessary part of the process (135). In the 13th-century Holderness assize rolls, on every occasion that the place of an appeal is mentioned it was made in the county court (136). But other appeals made in an unspecified court and reported to the eyre may well have been made in the wapentake, and possibly enrolled there by the franchisal coroner.

Although appeal continued to be a valid process until the 19th century, during the 13th century presentment of criminals became more common than appeal. That presenting juries existed before 1166 seems certain (137), but in that year the Assize of Henry II established on a permanent basis the jury of 12 from the wapentake and 4 from the vills to present crimes to the eyre (138). The process of presentment became more popular than appeal, partly because the justices discouraged appeals, because they led to the doubtful outcome of trial by battle, and partly because the appellant had many opportunities of losing his case for technical faults in pleading during an appeal and little satisfaction (other than revenge) if he won: that is, he was not awarded damages (139).

All through the 13th century crimes were presented not only at the

eyre but also at the next meeting of the wapentake and county court after their discovery. How the presentments were reported from the wapentake to the county varied from place to place, but in some districts the serjeant of the wapentake acted, reporting in the county court the presentments and appeals made in the wapentake court (140). In Holderness after the introduction of the office of coroner it was the duty of the coroner to record such presentments and appeals and moreover on at least one occasion (this seems unusual) to produce the defendant at the county court. The evidence for this lies in the assize roll for 1257: Nicholas at the gate of St Mary's York appealed Thomas Culverd of wounding and robbery. It was known through the coroner's roll that Bernard de Areyns promised to have Thomas at the next county court, and he did not produce him. And because Bernard was the coroner and undertook this, and failed, he was to be punished (141).

Serjeants of the wapentakes were also obliged to arrest criminals: in all serious cases, like the murder of Matilda la Barbur in Ravenser Odd in the 1250s, the murderer was taken to the county sheriff's prison at York castle and imprisoned there, not in any Holderness prison (142).

The more serious criminal charges of Holderness seem in the 13th century to have followed the national pattern in the tendency to move from appeal to presentment, although there is not a great number of cases to examine. There are three assize rolls containing criminal pleas of Holderness before 1260. The first roll of 1208 contains 5 appeals and no presentments; the roll of 1231 had 20 appeals and 19 presentments: the 1257 roll 5 appeals and 2 presentments (143).

To conclude, in the wapentake court of Holderness serious crimes were presented or the criminals appealed, and the suits were then transferred to other courts either by the coroner or by the presenting jury's report. Other, lesser, criminal cases were heard and determined in the court. In 1234 the cases that could be heard in a hundred court were defined as pleas of battery and brawls that did not amount to felony, the wounding and maiming of beasts, and pleas of debts that could be collected without a royal writ (144). In addition in the period after 1234 the commonest plea found in surviving English court rolls was the all-embracing trespass (145), and this was probably the crime of a Holderness poacher caught by the serjeant of the prior of Bridlington taking fish out of the prior's fishponds. The poacher was arrested and taken to the count of Aumale's court in the 1250s, there to be judged (146). Some of the criminal jurisdiction



permitted by the franchises of infangethef and outfangethef was probably exercised in the wapentake court of Holderness; other similar cases would be heard in the manorial courts. But there is little evidence to show what criminal cases were first heard and determined in the wapentake. As a general rule all over England the judicial importance of the wapentake or hundred court declined after the time of Henry II (1147).

Many cases concerning land were also heard in hundred and wapentake courts in the 12th century (1148), although after the use of writs for land cases became common such cases were heard in Holderness only because the count had the privilege of return of writs (without this, the cases would have gone to the county court). These cases were those which in an unprivileged area would be heard by the sheriff. In 1281 a jury said of the countess of Aumale's privilege of return of writs in the Isle of Wight, that she and her predecessors had always had the pleas resulting from those writs which elsewhere sheriffs pleaded in shire courts (1149). In 1226 the bishop of Ely had jurisdiction in his hundreds of Norfolk and Suffolk over those pleas which the sheriffs held by writ in the county courts. There are other 13th century examples of this privilege: but what kind of pleas these were is not known (1150). Most land cases arising from royal writ would from the end of the 12th century be heard by the royal assize justices.

Lawsuits over land began, probably from the time of Henry II, by writ of right in the lord's court (1151). At the beginning of the 13th century a woman quitclaimed to Bridlington 2 carucates of land in Skirlington, for which she had sued the prior of Bridlington in the wapentake of Holderness by writ of right of the king (1152). Her son's confirmation of the quitclaim can be dated c.1241-1242 and mentions that she sued also in the county court of York by writ of right (1153). On another occasion a complaint of defect of warranty was brought to the eyre of 1230-1231, arising from a case of dower in the count of Aumale's court. The warrantor was under age and the count's ward, so the count was directed to bring the boy to his court and there make warranty (1154). This case, begun by writ of right, had also been to the county court. It would appear that in civil law, as in criminal, the county court played an important part in spite of the privileged nature of the wapentake. It is frustrating not to know if these two cases started in the count's court and were determined in the county, or were started in the county

and reclaimed by the count. It was possible for holders of similar liberties to claim law suits from county court, by their appointed attorneys who were in court to receive writs and summonses of the exchequer and "*ad petendum curiam ... si necesse fuerit*" (155).

In two petty assizes of 1200 and 1221 the sheriff was directed to find jurors who were not men of the count of Aumale, even though he was not party to the suits (156). In 1228 jurors were to be appointed for a case of novel disseisin to be heard at Hedon about a Holderness tenement (one party being the count). Perhaps this assize was to be taken in the wapentake court? It came to nothing, for the following year new jurors were appointed for the same case to be heard at York (157). The assize rolls of the 13th century are full of records of petty assizes being taken before the justices, and there is no evidence (other than the above) that these were ever dealt with in the wapentake court.

As a franchisal court it is probable that the wapentake of Holderness administered the regulations relating to the assizes of bread and ale, sac and soc and toll and team and so on, infangethef and outfangethef and the rare privileges of *vee de nam* and wreck. Some of the count's tenants, some religious houses and the boroughs, had exemption from the count's control of these privileges.

In addition to the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the court, inquiries could be held in the court such as the Assize of Arms of 1181: and probably the Domesday verdict of the "men of Holderness who have sworn" was pronounced in the court. The bailiff might be sworn in there, taxes assessed there, letters of attorney read, and the transfer of lands could take place in court and be witnessed by the suitors to the wapentake. There are records of an early 13th-century agreement to lease land in Halsham for life being made before Rannulf the sheriff of Holderness, eleven named men "*et multis aliis*", before the wapentake at Hedon (158). Similarly a quitclaim to Bridlington priory was made in the court of the abbot of St Mary's York and in the wapentake of Holderness (159). Between 1160 and 1182 a case was heard at Hedon, between Arnold de Montbegon and Meaux abbey. The process can be hazily discerned: first an agreement was made between the litigants, that the abbey would be allowed to bring sworn witnesses to the original transfer of land. Then the case was heard "on the third day". When Arnold de Montbegon saw the knights and the book brought forward "into the middle" (presumably of the court) ready to

take the oath, he released his rights in the land (160). This record is the only one that shows, however imprecisely, the wapentake court in session. Before 1208 in an unspecified wapentake court which may have been Holderness a quitclaim was made before some of the jurors by rod and staff, and it was recorded that "this all the wapentake knows" (161). Between 1197 and 1210 Meaux abbey received land by a quitclaim made in the full wapentake at Hedon, by oath taken on the Gospels, before all men (162).

As the final duty of this many-faceted wapentake court, it appears that it also served as the court of the honour of Holderness, although no such description of it survives. There is one reference to a quitclaim being made before the count and the court of his barons in the Meaux chronicle, within the period 1190-1195 (163). Other courts are mentioned in the extents taken after the death of William de Forz II, at Burstwick, Keyingham, Preston, Easington, Withernsea, Kilnsea, Skeffling, Lelley, Burton Pidsea and Cleeton. These were however manorial courts in the demesne lands of the counts. The assize roll of 1250-1251 refers to courts at Burstwick and at Skipsea, but these are merely isolated occurrences and the mass of evidence points to there being one court only for Holderness free tenants, that of the wapentake at Hedon (164). No record of honorial business survives, although it is tempting to imagine the agreement between the knightly tenants to pay contributions to send four of their number to Poitou in 1214 being made at this court (165).

In 1265-1266 Richard de Halstead, sheriff of Holderness, included in his account roll of the receipts and expenses of the Holderness estates five lines of entries under the margin note "Perquis'". These entries are the only record of the receipts from the wapentake court, and are given in full here to show the intermingled nature of the court's business.

The same (Richard de Halstead) renders account for 12d. received from Alan de Craven for a recognition at Martinmas (166). And for 12d. from the same at Pentecost for the same. And for 12s. from Geoffrey de Preston for many defaults. And for 2ls. received from Peter Mois for the perquisites of his bailiwick (167) and he answered for the particulars. And for £6 13s. 4d. from the abbot of Meaux for many transgressions and defaults. And for 6s. 8d. from the same because he did not prosecute. And for 13s. 4d. from Thomas de Heslerton for suit of court. And for 12s. from Walter de Pickering for transgression. And for 2s. from Geoffrey de Preston for default of wapentake. And for 4ls. 2d. received from Thomas Dunsley for the perquisites of his bailiwick (168) and he answered for the particulars. And for 13s. 4d. received from Adam Ulrome for transgression. And for 40s. received from John de Halsham for concealed rent.

This assortment of entries totals £14 16s. 10d. which is about average for the wapentake profits in the 1260s (170). As there are no commutations of suit for money in the entries, it must be assumed that except for Thomas de Heslerton and Geoffrey de Preston all the suitors came to court in person. Concealed rent and the many defaults of the abbot of Meaux (not known to be a suitor to the wapentake) look more like seignorial business than the traditional concerns of the territorial court.

The account rolls of Holderness in the time of Countess Isabella show that in the first three years after 1260 the perquisites of the wapentake court amounted to £11 16s. 8d., £22, and £13 13s. 8d. In 1265-1266 they were £14 16s. 10d. (171). For the purposes of dower post 1260 the perquisites of the wapentake were valued at 60s., and in 1274 the value of the wapentake was set at £10 (172); all these are comparatively small amounts of money, no greater than the £14 19s. valuation of the burghal court at Ravernser Odd at the same period (173) and a drop in the ocean in the total balance sheet of the countess's Holderness estates. Obviously during the 13th century the value of a seignorial wapentake had dropped dramatically: for at the beginning of the century Peter de Brus had paid 400 marks as well as an annual rent of about £30 for the wapentake of the barren hills of Cleveland (174). Whatever the court had been in the 12th century, it must be concluded that by the end of the 13th century the wapentake was neither powerful nor valuable. It survived into the 19th century, still meeting every three weeks, for the purposes of "entry and return of warrants, or actions for the recovery of small debts and damages, in trespass, replevin, assault and other offences, where damages were recoverable at law" (175).



### Other Holderness courts

Of the other courts in Holderness there are only traces in the evidence. In the 13th century there were manorial courts for the counts' demesne tenants at Burstwick, Keyingham, Preston, Easington, Withernsea, Kilnsea, Skeffling, Lelley, Burton Pidsea and Cleeton which included Skipsea (176). The sort of business transacted at the count's manorial courts is the familiar stuff of later manorial court rolls: payments for admission to tenements, fines for minor offences. The 1263-1264 account of the bailiffs of Keyingham has as the total entry under "Perquisites of court" three items: a payment of 2s. from William son of Peter for his fine for having a toft, 12d. from Ralf de Skeckling for transgression, and (unusually) 2s. from Richard de Welwick for his fine for having an inquisition (177). Preston court the same year included fines for reseisin, and for grant to a tenant of permission to marry (178).

The archbishop of York held a manorial court at Patrington (179). In the 14th century the provost of Beverley held courts at his manors in Holderness: there is only one early record of these courts, the note of an essoin dated 1260, but obviously they existed before the 14th century (180). Among the count's tenants the Templars held a three-weekly court at Beeford and Dunnington (181). The abbot of Thornton claimed before the 1292-1293 commissioners free court over his tenants and his villeins for eight Holderness villis, as did the abbot of St Mary's York for his court at Hornsea in 1274 (182).

The archbishop, the abbot of St Mary's York, Robert de Ros, Walter de Fauconberg, John de Meaux and Ingelram de Monceaux all claimed in 1275-1276 minor franchisal jurisdiction in Holderness. All claimed the assizes of bread and ale. All but Robert de Ros claimed wreck. The archbishop claimed in addition gallows and waif, and Robert de Ros claimed also gallows (183). A few years later Fauconberg and de Monceaux abandoned their claim to the assizes (184).

Because of its occurrence in a fine, more is known of the Ros family's court at Roos than other tenants' courts in Holderness. In 1242 a fine was made at York (and afterwards confirmed at Westminster) between William de Ros and William de Forz III, count of Aumale, about the free court claimed by William de Ros in his manor of Roos, for indictment of a thief caught within the manor; which the count did not permit him to hold. The count granted that William de Ros and his heirs, whenever a thief should be caught within the manor, whether he was born

on the Ros land or not, could be tried in the manor on the charge of infangethef. But the judgement was to be done in the presence of the count's bailiff of Holderness, who had sworn fealty in the county court of York at the attachment of the pleas of the crown that belonged to the sheriff in Holderness. For this purpose the bailiff should have eight days' notice that the court was to be held. If the bailiff did not come, judgement could still be carried out by William de Ros; and the Ros family should have the chattels of the convicted thief (185).

All three boroughs, Hedon, Skipsea and Ravenser Odd, held courts, although less is known of Skipsea borough moot at this time than of the other two courts. Hedon borough moot, the "burghmota", is first mentioned in 1230-1231 and was valued at 40s. in 1260 (186); Ravenser Odd court first occurs in 1260 and was then valued at 40s. During the 1260s Ravenser Odd paid substantial sums to the countess for the pleas and perquisites of the court (187), 119s. in 1264, £8 0s. 4d. in 1265 (188). For the purposes of dower Ravenser Odd court was valued at £14 9s. post 1260 (189).

## The liberty and the king's government

Having described the nature of the liberty of Holderness as it can be seen from the available evidence, it is possible to follow the effect of royal reforms upon it, and royal encroachments on the powers of the counts. There was always some limitation to the powers of even the greatest liberty, and none of the liberties in England became independent states, not even Chester or Durham. The reason for this limitation was given by the king's lawyers in 1302, on confiscating temporarily the bishop of Durham's liberty: "because the bishop, since he holds the said liberty, is so far the king's minister for upholding and carrying out in the king's name and in due manner what belongs to the royal authority within the same liberty; so that he ought to do justice to all and singular there, and duly submit to the lord king's mandates ... for the royal authority extends throughout the whole realm, both within the liberties and without" (190).

All franchises are royal authority delegated: this is the Edwardian position, although it was not firmly established until the late 13th century, being merely foreshadowed in the constitutional and legal position of English kings from the Anglo-Saxons onward.

The corollary to the theory of delegation is that if franchises were abused, and the king's work not properly carried out within a franchise, the king could confiscate it or resume it. Confiscations of this type were not uncommon in the 13th century, although only of temporary effect (191). The liberty of Holderness was either confiscated, or threatened with confiscation, on several occasions. It was confiscated about 1221, when the count was in rebellion, and the king ordered that the Aumale castles of Cockermouth, Skipsea and Skipton were to be taken and destroyed (192) and not restored until 1227, when the sheriff of York was directed to allow William count of Aumale to hold his wapentake of Holderness with all liberties, free customs and rights as his ancestors had done in the times of Henry II, Richard and John up to the time of the war between the king and his barons (193). In 1266 the wapentake was threatened with confiscation, and it was confiscated again in 1268 for persistent failure of the countess's officials to bring a man to the king's court (194). This was the ultimate sanction to ensure proper administration of a franchise.

In times of weak central government, particularly in the reign of Stephen, the counts of Aumale like other barons extended their powers (195). In the era of strong rulers, which included Henry I as well as Henry II and his sons, the central government leant hard upon the feudatories. In Henry III's reign the government position was static for a number of years: at the end of the 13th century central government once more began to interfere in local government. But by that time the rule of the Aumales was coming to an end.

Of the relationship between central government and Holderness in the time of the first two Norman kings there is no evidence. The miscellaneous list of pleas of the crown under Henry I shows what cases the king's court would hear: not all serious crimes yet belonged to the king (196). But a powerful king could interfere when he liked. As early as 1112-1122 Henry I was intervening in internal affairs in Holderness: he sent a writ to the count directing that the abbot of St Mary's York should hold Hornsea mere as freely as Count Odo had given it and as William Rufus had confirmed it; and prohibiting anyone else from fishing there except by the abbot's leave. The writ is in the form of a precipe, for the king ordered that if anyone wished to claim anything in Hornsea mere, the case was to be pleaded before him. The sheriff of Yorkshire was bypassed and the writ sent directly to the count and the count's steward; nevertheless this is the kind of interference between a man and his tenant which is usually assigned to the reforming government of Henry II (197).

In Stephen's reign the count's power grew, he built unauthorised castles, acquired land in the West Riding by force, fortified Bridlington priory, even set up a mint of his own in Hedon (198). At the time of the Scots invasion in the summer of 1138 King Stephen was too busy in the west to defend his northern frontier: that was left to the northern barons under the archbishop of York who defeated the Scots at the Battle of the Standard. Thereafter William count of Aumale was made earl of Yorkshire and became (in the words of William of Newburgh) "king beyond the Humber" (199). The count's charters were phrased like royal ones, and he considered his authority sufficient to make grants of liberty over land tenanted and donated to a monastery by others (200). No doubt his rule in the wapentake at this time was regal.



Following the accession of Henry II the pendulum swung the other way. Henry came to Yorkshire in 1155 and "received back Yorkshire from the count" (201). How much else he took back is unrecorded but no more is heard of William le Gros's unlicensed castles, his unauthorised land seizures or the mint at Hedon. From 1155 onwards the central government began to interfere between the count and his tenants in three ways: in legal powers, in the privileges granted to monasteries, and in the boroughs. It was however in the law courts that the strong central government of Henry II was most noticeable.

The monarch from Anglo-Saxon times onwards had an over-riding duty to do justice to his subjects, regardless of the privileges of his barons. There were always some cases reaching the king's courts: the pleas of the crown however they might be defined at the time, suits between tenants in chief, and defaults of justice, for "kings have long hands" (202). Some cases then were always removed from the lord's court to the king's; and in many other cases where lords were allowed to have jurisdiction over other men, they acted not fully independently but as the king's justiciars, as Edward I's lawyers called them (203).

At the end of the 12th century both criminal and civil cases were removed in ever increasing numbers from local to royal courts by the instrument of the eyre. The justices in eyre travelled the land, and all men who were summoned were bound to come to their court session. The justices heard the more important pleas of the crown, all robbers, murderers, thieves, forgers, incendiaries and traitors were dealt with by them. In addition the king's peace carried with it the idea of royal jurisdiction for peace-breaking, which could be used to take almost any case into the king's courts, even the poaching of fish. So in Holderness in 1231 Henry son of Roger de Witherwick, the man of Peter de Fauconberg, was caught with other men by the fishpond of Lambwath with nets and two fish. He was taken to Burstwick and there imprisoned: but because he claimed (although ultimately unsuccessfully) to have been in the king's peace the case came to the justices in eyre (204). An identical poaching case in the 1250s, in which the defendant did not plead the king's peace, remained in the count's court (205).

The presenting juries from the wapentakes and the vills were obliged

to report crimes from the liberties as well as elsewhere, and Holderness never succeeded in establishing its immunity from the eyre, as did for instance Durham, and to a limited extent Beverley and Ripon..

The eyres are thought to have been first held in Henry I's reign, though little is known of their operation. They ceased under Stephen and were reintroduced by Henry II. Through their circuits, and in particular from the time of the Assize of Clarendon in 1166, the amount of business done in the royal courts increased at the expense of the lords' courts.

The first eyre after 1166 was made by Richard de Lucy and Geoffrey de Mandeville: they heard pleas in the wapentake of Holderness which resulted in entries on the pipe roll of 12 Henry II (206). The same Assize of Clarendon established on a permanent basis the jury of 12 from the wapentake and 4 from the villis to present crimes to the eyre: these juries functioned in Holderness, and the wapentake was fined 20 marks for concealed pleas in 1169-1170 and the villis were fined in 1189-1190(207). An early 13th-century summons to the Yorkshire eyre orders the attendance of the archbishop, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights and all free tenants of the sheriff's bailiwick and four lawful men and the reeve from each vill together with 12 lawful burgesses from each borough and all others who "usually come and ought to come before the eyre" to be at York on 25 May 1231 (a Sunday). Just over one month's notice of the eyre was given to the sheriff. Also to be summoned were all pleas not dealt with, attachments of pleas, and assizes, and all those who had been sheriffs since the last eyre. There was no mention of the liberties, which may have been summoned separately (208).

The first criminal assize roll to have survived for Holderness is from the year 1208 (209). Ten years later, in 1218-1219, an eyre came to York to settle cases that had arisen since the war: although the roll of pleas of the crown is virtually complete there are no entries for Holderness. The sheriff is recorded as saying that "touching the pleas of the crown and attachments, he could do nothing because of the count of Aumale" (210). That year the count refused to co-operate: but his resistance did not last long, and by 1231, the next surviving record of criminal pleas, the list of those from Holderness is much longer than that of 1208 and there are many more details of the cases, the punishments and the financial accruements to the crown. In almost every case the crown benefitted,

although the bailiff of the liberty nominally had authority. If a man died by accident, for instance being run down by a cart, the cart was forfeit to the crown, and it was the bailiff's duty to produce the cart or its equivalent value in money (211). The bailiff did the work but the profit went to the crown. The presenting juries gradually brought more and more cases to the eyre, and the old system of appeal fell into decay, causing the decline of local courts by the end of the 13th century.

What must have offended the counts and their peers throughout England was that they lost not only their legal rights over the convicted men, but also their chattels if convicted (212). This is remarked upon by the "Scholar" in the Dialogus de Scaccario: "It might appear just, that the king's ordinance should punish the person of the delinquent, but the chattels like the land should accrue to his lord." The Master answers (with some not very convincing reasons for the king's action) that "it is entirely owing to the Assize" (213). Chattels of offenders from Holderness are entered on the pipe rolls (214). The goods of men who fled from justice, or who formally abjured the realm rather than face trial, also went to the crown (215). The king had in addition the right of waste for a year and a day after the execution of a criminal, a right that was often commuted for by the landlord because of the long-term damage it could do to the property. So in 1257 a man Robert killed a woman at Ravenser Odd and was imprisoned at York. He escaped but was recaptured and executed. Robert had land of which the year and a day's waste was valued at 10s: but the count of Aumale made a fine for the waste for 12s. (216). The term of a year and a day was followed by an inquisition, as at Ottringham in 1249, to see if the time was fully elapsed, a process which could lead to further delays (217).

In the same period when these great changes in criminal law were taking place, removing both jurisdiction and power from the counts, civil law was also greatly altered. In civil law the royal justice offered not so much a compulsory system but a more desirable alternative system, and the Angevin innovations attracted many cases away from the older local courts. The use of royal writs in civil cases became customary, and the new civil process of the Grand Assize ("that royal boon conceded to the people by the clemency of the prince") (218) and the possessory assizes were introduced. The writs brought before the royal courts the

greater part of land cases, and the principle was established that no man need answer for his land without a royal writ (219). Land cases could in some circumstances be heard in a seignorial court, even after Henry II's reforms, but if one of the parties asked for a Grand Assize, the case could only be heard in the royal court. A writ of right was brought to the count's court in Richard's reign, to begin proceedings which ended in a Grand Assize (220), and in another similar case over a house in Hedon in 1225 the defendants put themselves upon the Grand Assize and sought a writ de pace habenda until the coming of the eyre (221).

The first recorded civil action by writ against the count was in 1175-1176 when a brave woman, Matilda daughter of Holdewin, offered 5 marks for a recognition against the count in an unspecified case (222). Other Holderness men bought writs that year, but not against the count. Matilda continued with her case for two years, when she offered another 5 marks for license to agree with the count (223). Matilda, who is not otherwise recorded in Holderness history, was probably a small freeholder of Hedon, and perhaps the greater freedom of a borough had led her to such a bold step. It was only 25 years since the anarchy of Stephen's reign, and the same count ruled in Holderness. His life spanned a judicial revolution.

In 1179-1180 Uctred de Owstwick offered 5 marks that his plea about the land of Owstwick be held before the justices: an ominous precedent for the counts, because all the land in Owstwick was held from the count, and normally such a case could only be held in the count's court (224). Possibly Uctred was hoping to get the case settled quickly and the seignorial administration was in disorder because of the death in 1179 of William le Gros.

The first of the new writs to be named in a Holderness action was a mort d'ancestor of 1187-1188 (225). Later pipe rolls, fines and assize rolls record more frequent civil assizes. The first darrein presentments in Holderness date from 1207 and 1212 (226).

Not all by any means of the 12th- and 13th-century records of the eyre, the assize rolls, have survived, but from the remaining rolls, and from the surviving fines which were made before the justices in eyre, the frequency of Yorkshire eyres can be reckoned: there was one almost every year (227). That Yorkshireman, Roger of Howden, spoke of judicial eyres as an intolerable burden by which the whole of England was reduced to poverty from sea to sea (228), and in support of this view, the eyre of 1251-1252 cost Holderness and Hedon together £98 7s. 8d. (229) in fines imposed on the vills and individuals.



William le Gros must have considered the operations of the eyre as an expensive interference with his liberty of Holderness and his other lands. In addition to the eyre, many cases concerning him and his successors, their lands and their tenants, were heard by the central court, the curia regis. This was primarily used for civil matters, not criminal, and the two courts, the eyre and the curia regis, were very closely linked. Owing either to his political importance, or to his attendance at court, it was more common for the count of Aumale to sue in the curia regis; but he occurs in the rolls of both types of court as both plaintiff and defendant.

The first surviving instance of a count of Aumale using the new civil writs against a tenant is in 1198 when he was a plaintiff in an assize about a house in Lincolnshire (230). The counts are not often recorded as plaintiffs, and although this may be merely due to the haphazard survival of evidence, it is significant that in the first full civil plea roll for Holderness of 1230-1231, the count was many times a defendant, but only once a plaintiff, in what may be a fictitious case concerning a family marriage (231). The same peculiarity is observable in the curia regis rolls (232). It seems that law suits were brought against the counts by their tenants rather than the reverse, and to this extent the increasing interference of royal justice would be bitterly resented.

One useful device introduced at the end of the 12th century increased the popularity of the king's courts. This was the final concord, to terminate a civil case, with from 1195 onwards a permanent record filed with the central government. The people of Holderness were quick to use this innovation, and the first Holderness fines to have survived date from May 1196 (233). The counts came more slowly to use the fine, and none to which they are party is recorded before Henry III's reign (234).

The justices in eyre were not only interested in crimes and civil actions, but also made inquiries about the usurpation of royal rights and the administration of liberties. In 1170 the inquiry into the exactions by sheriffs and bailiffs was not confined to the royal officers, but was also an investigation into the franchises of the barons, lay and ecclesiastical (235). The first articles of the eyre to have survived, those of 1194 (236) do not include articles of inquiry into the administration of franchises, but either the procedure of the eyre or its form of record became stereotyped about 1230-1240, and from that time the questions put to the jurors include some on the conduct of local government officials, men who have withdrawn their suit to the shire, or magnates who are holding pleas

without warrant (237). The first complete eyre roll for Holderness having all the standard returns (beginning with the names of the jurors, bailiffs and serjeants of wapentakes) shows the jury returning that the count of Aumale holds pleas of vee de nam in Holderness but they do not know by what warrant (238). This is many years before the national inquiry set under way by Edward I in 1274, but shows that already the holders of a liberty might have to answer "Quo Warranto?" The count's officials, and even the count himself, were fined for inefficiency in administration, and similarly if they overstepped their powers they were punished (239).

Before the reign of Henry II the exclusion of the sheriff and other king's officers gave a wide degree of independence to the liberties. But the innovations of Henry II complicated the simple privilege of exclusion, which the counts of Aumale possessed. For instance the introduction of the writs connected with the possessory assizes meant greatly increased work for the sheriff in executing the writs: immunity from his visit became even more important. The writs however were issued by chancery, and the pleas were heard by the king's justices: so the exclusion of the sheriff alone was no longer enough to ensure independence from the royal government (240). The more powerful barons therefore sought special privileges: they adopted Henry's innovations but administered them through their own chanceries, justices and sheriffs. Their honours were the palatinates (241). But for those who did not reach palatine status, which must include the count of Aumale, Henry II's legal innovations acted against the independence of the liberty.

The resentment of the counts against the eyres and the curia regis is most clearly seen in the time of William de Forz II. When the eyre came to York at the end of 1218 he had not long been in possession of his estates, and part of that time had been in the unnatural conditions of war. No eyre had been to Holderness since 1208, and no doubt William de Forz II thought that his mother's husbands had allowed encroachments on the liberty. The young count took the dangerous course of ignoring the eyre. One of the Holderness cases on the roll records that all the recognitors failed to arrive, and the bailiffs of Holderness were to be summoned to show why they did not do the king's command (242). Later in the roll the sheriff of Yorkshire complained that "touching all that belongs to the lord king by way of pleas of the crown and attachments and

such things he can do nothing because of the count of Aumale" (243). Shortly after in the 1219 Lincolnshire eyre six cases of novel disseisin were brought against the count and he lost them all (244). In the 1220s he lost case after case in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, usually for persistent non-appearance, enabling the justices to take the case by default. There seems to have been a real effort at this time on the part of William de Forz II to turn back the clock to his grandfather's early days, and to rule Holderness without royal interference. Soon he was driven into unsuccessful rebellion: after Bytham, his wapentake was restored in 1227, but he had failed to establish his immunity from the eyre, and never again did a count of Aumale attempt to exclude the king's justices. In 1231 the eyre once more visited Holderness.

It was not only the count of Aumale who objected to the eyres, resentment was general among the barons of England at many petty irritations roused by the eyre and the sheriff's courts, and these were mentioned in the petition of the barons in 1258 (245).

In his relationship with his tenants' courts too, the 13th century saw a decline in the count's power. In 1242 it was possible still for the count to prevent his tenant exercising part of his jurisdiction, as when William de Forz III prevented William de Ros hanging thieves caught in his manor (246). The subsequent grant of the count to William de Ros of the right of infangethef was twice qualified by the phrase "as far as the count may", indicating an uncertainty at this period about the delegation of powers derived ultimately from the king. By the end of the 13th century such a delegation would probably have been impossible.

Another form of interference with the counts' powers over their tenants was the practice of the kings of England of granting free courts to religious houses and allowing them to have all cases concerning their own lands heard in the royal courts: this is a separate privilege, in addition to the large number of clerical offences which could only be heard (especially after the death of Becket) in ecclesiastical courts. The clerics often preferred the royal jurisdiction even to that of the church, particularly in the Angevin period when the judges in royal courts were themselves nearly always clerks (247). In 1181 Henry II granted Cistercian Swine nunnery that no tenement that the nuns held in demesne should be impleaded except before the king himself or his chief justice (248). Henry also granted Meaux abbey between 1158 and 1162 the right to have courts in all the monks' demesne lands and possessions, with all forfeits

of fugitives, and of felons, with infangethef, the assizes of bread and ale, the free appointment of bailiffs, constables and other officers, free jurisdiction and execution for these officers, and amercements and forfeitures everywhere within the boundaries of the abbey's lands. The penalty for infringement of these wide but vague franchises was £10 to the king and 20s. to the sheriff of York: no mention of the count of Aumale, who by this royal charter lost his powers over the abbey's tenants in Holderness (249). Thornton was also exempted by a charter of Richard I, confirmed by Henry III, from any jurisdiction less than that of the king. In 1292-1293 the abbot of Thornton claimed for eight Holderness vills and two non-Holderness Yorkshire vills that he and his heirs had sac and soc, toll and team, and that they could not be impleaded for these tenements except before the king or his chief justices, and that the abbot and his men were quit of all normal local burdens on these lands. Asked by the commissioners what he meant by sac and soc and toll and team, the abbot replied that he meant free court for his tenants and suit of court from his villeins (250).

The highly privileged hospital of St Peter's York, St Mary's abbey York and the provost of Beverley minster had some freedom from the counts' jurisdiction, for their cases were taken separately before the eyre. Their privileges however stretch back to the first era of Norman rule or before, and are not associated with Henry II's reforms (251).

It is not suggested that the original privileges granted by Henry II to abbeys in Holderness were intended to damage the count's interest: indeed, rather the reverse, it is probable that the count, who founded, protected and promoted the abbeys, was instrumental in obtaining the privileges for his proteges. But as the years passed, the effect of removing large numbers of Holderness tenants from the count's jurisdiction was to weaken the local government.

A similar phenomenon can be seen in the gradual independence of the boroughs of Holderness, which were founded and built up by the counts, but came in time to exercise their independence against the counts and their local administration.

There were no Domesday boroughs in Holderness, but by the middle of the 13th century there were three: Hedon, Skipsea and Ravenser Odd (252). All these boroughs were founded by the counts of Aumale. It was the counts who were granted the burgage charters by the kings of England, and the counts



who went surety for the money paid by the burgesses for new charters (253). In their early days the boroughs were dependent to a great extent on the counts. The counts collected rents from Hedon, probably the burgage rents, and tallaged the town once a year on St Augustine's day. They took the toll of the town and the profits of mill and oven. The wapentake court was held in Hedon (254) and Holderness prisoners were kept in the borough jail. The sheriff of Holderness had many associations with Hedon, and probably lived there. Whether or not he was responsible for the borough court, the profits of the Hedon borough court went into the counts' coffers until at least the end of the 13th century (255). Skipsea too paid burgage rents to the count, was tallaged, and the profits of Skipsea court, the toll of the town and the farm all went to the count (256). The same is true of the island town of Ravenser Odd (257).

Nevertheless there were certain elements in the constitution of any borough which tended to lead to independence from the seigneur, and more reliance on the crown. Many of the privileges desired by boroughs, such as fairs, markets, the power to sell dyed cloth, quittances from tolls of other towns, could only come from the king: so that the seigneur became, in course of time, a mere rent-collector with no real power over the borough. The gradual extension of the powers of the three boroughs of Holderness is unfortunately not well documented, but by the 14th century Hedon at least had gained widespread jurisdictional immunities, and claimed to have had these for many years (258); they included the power to hold their own courts and the return of writs and summonses of the exchequer. However their franchises advanced in the 13th century, by their essential privilege of holding by burgage tenure the townsmen were freed of the customary burdens of manorialism, enabling them to pay a money rent for their plots and sell and dispose of them freely. They were also freed of their suit due to the counts' courts, either to the manor or to the wapentake. So there came to be established inside the liberty of Holderness the smaller liberties of the boroughs, a further diminution of the powers of the counts.

The liberty of Holderness was an ancient one, probably being created c.1070-1080 by the Conqueror, as a strong unit able to resist invasions from Denmark. It possessed many privileges, associated with the counts' tenure of the wapentake, and excluded all royal officers except the king's justices.

The wapentake represented a pre-Conquest territorial unit, which was subdivided subsequently, but never lost its identity. Suit to the wapentake

was owed by a large number of freeholders. The wapentake court possessed territorial, franchisal and honorial jurisdiction. It declined during the course of the 13th century and possessed little real power or financial value by the end of the century. Little is known of other Holderness courts.

Liberties were always vulnerable to royal interference. From 1155 onwards the central government (whether intentionally or not) weakened the liberty of Holderness through legal innovations, and through the privileges granted to monasteries and boroughs. Although this whittling away of the liberty was resented, particularly by Count William de Forz II, he was unable to prevent it and the decline continued throughout the 13th century. Nevertheless Holderness continued as a privileged area until the end of the Middle Ages and beyond.

THE KNIGHTS OF HOLDERNESS

## The knights of Holderness

The Norman Conquest was a military conquest, and the new king was faced after his coronation with the urgent necessity of making the country into a "community organized for war" (1). His redistribution of English lands began immediately after Hastings, and as he moved west and then north, securing his hold on the kingdom, he granted to his land-hungry followers the forfeited lands of those Anglo-Saxons who had been killed in battle or who had resisted him and therefore suffered confiscation. Until 1069 and the first native rebellion, Anglo-Saxons were still in possession of many estates, but after the rising of that and succeeding years, more and more of England came into Norman hands, until by 1086 only two Englishmen held tenancies in chief of the king, Thurkill of Arden and Colswein of Lincoln.

Two motives must have driven King William to the enormous redistribution recorded in Domesday Book; the need to secure England against further invasion by granting fiefs to those who had a stake in the survival of the new Norman kingdom, and the need to reward those who had accompanied him on the great enterprise.

He can have known little of his new kingdom and its shires. The simplest method of redistributing the land was to grant to a Norman lord all the land of one or more Saxon predecessors. That this was the basis of many grants is evident from Domesday Book, where to establish a claim the Norman newcomer merely needed to prove that his Saxon predecessor had held the lands.

There were very few exceptions to this principle, and they are all found on the frontiers of the new Norman kingdom. Most of Kent, Sussex, the Isle of Wight and Cornwall were given as blocks of territory to Normans whom William particularly trusted. The great marcher earldoms were also established as blocks of land to provide a strong defence (2). In the north, up to 1086 and beyond (until the creation of the palatinate of Durham), Yorkshire was the effective northern frontier, and to defend it Richmondshire and the later honours of Tickhill, Pontefract and Conisbrough were formed (3). With very few exceptions the whole of the Yorkshire coast was held by Earl Hugh, the king or Drogo de la Beuvrière. These Yorkshire blocks of lands, the later honours, were created from the lands of many previous holders, for a deliberate purpose.

The creation of Holderness as a future honour was probably in the 1070s.



After his submission to William about the time of his coronation, Earl Morcar, who held a number of manors in Holderness, was apparently on good terms with the king and was one of the Englishmen with William in Normandy in 1067. The northern campaign of 1069-1070 must have tested Morcar's loyalty, and in 1071 he threw in his lot with the rebels by joining Hereward in the fens (4), where he was taken prisoner and subsequently died. It is likely that about this time (either in the suppression of the northern rising, or more probably on his joining Hereward), Morcar's lands were confiscated and regranted to a more trustworthy ally (5). The reappearance of the Danish fleet in the Humber in 1069-1070 must have persuaded William that Holderness should be treated as a single defensive block (6), and he granted it to a Fleming, Drogo de la Beuvrière, of whom little is known (7). Drogo's followers were the first knights of Holderness.

### The Domesday evidence

Any account of the knights of Holderness must begin with Domesday Book. Many things about the Yorkshire Domesday cause difficulties, the worst problem being the large number of linked entries, where information about two or more places is combined in one statement. The description of Aldbrough in Holderness for instance includes in one passage the assessment of the manor, followed by information about 3 berewicks and then no less than 14 pieces of sokeland (8). This makes it difficult to be precise about Domesday statistics, and all the following comments on the Domesday knights must be allowed many qualifications and a margin of error.

Before the coming of the Normans to Holderness the estates were in many different hands: 45 different names occur as landowners in the time of King Edward the Confessor (apart from the lands of the churches of York and Beverley), but this may conceal an even larger number of men than there were names, for in the Domesday account of Holderness there were at least 2 Chilverts, 2 Ulf's and 2 Franes, who are recorded as holding lands in the same vill's. All these men's lands were granted to one owner, Drogo de la Beuvrière.

The consolidation at the top of the social structure of Holderness was duplicated at a lower level in the holdings of the tenants of Drogo. In the time of King Edward the lands of Holderness were typical of the complex Danelaw structure analysed by Sir Frank Stenton (9). A significant feature of pre-Conquest Holderness was the large number of freemen holding small pieces of land, often jointly. Of this Preston is an extreme example:

8 manors. In Preston Frane and another Frane, Basinc, Macus, Tor, Gamel, Torber and Turvert had 10 carucates and 2 bovates of land for geld.

(10)

The new pattern brought from the continent changed the old structure. Now instead of dozens of free tenants holding large or small areas of land in Holderness, 32 sub-tenants (composed of 22 homines and 10 milites) held sub-tenancies of one lay lord of Holderness. On the church's lands no such radical change is recorded.

There is no evidence to show that any pre-Conquest landholder in Holderness survived to hold land in 1086: indeed the Holderness entries of Domesday Book are full of names of owners who no longer held, perhaps no longer existed, having been swept away in the harrying of the north, the several invasions, or Morcar's last stand in the Fens (11).

The social classes shown in Domesday Book for Holderness are villeins, bordars, socmen, milites and homines. In addition there were on Drogo's

land 12 priests, and on the archbishop's lands, 5 priests and one man simply called a freeman. There were no <sup>servi</sup> ~~serfs~~ in Yorkshire or Lincolnshire in Domesday Book. In this chapter, attention will be concentrated on the two military classes, the milites and the homines.

In both the archbishop's lands and Drogo's lands milites are found in Domesday Book. There were 6 milites on the archbishop's lands (12) and 10 milites on Drogo's lands (13).<sup>1</sup> None of these milites is named, whereas in the other class of military tenants, the homines, all the men's forenames are given (14). This suggests that the milites were of less importance than the homines: and this is borne out by the evidence of their respective holdings of land. Both sets of men - both milites and homines - usually possessed one plough each, where it is recorded (15), so that possession of a plough was not a distinction. But whereas the milites shared land in a vill with either Drogo or (in the case of Preston) with Drogo's man (16), the named homines possessed the whole of a vill or vills (17). This means that it is possible to assess the land holdings of the homines in carucates for geld. The amount of land held by the milites is not recorded (18).

So far the Latin words for the two military ranks have been used. This is because translation leads to confusion with later medieval social classes, which are much more readily comprehended. By the mid 12th century, by the time of the 1166 cartae baronum for instance, the knight is a man of a certain status, with certain obligations and privileges in law; but it is anachronistic to use the Angevin evidence, so much more abundant than that of the feudal society of William I's day, to discuss the endowments and the status of the first Norman tenants (19). In 1086 the miles seem to have been something between "soldier" and "knight". The homines, on the other hand, seem to have been the forerunners of the barones of the honour, often mentioned in 12th-century charters. It is this second group of men who by the 13th century would have considered themselves the knights of Holderness. What happened to the first group and who were they? An Anglo-Norman miles was usually a knight, but not always, and the term is used in Domesday Book to describe persons of every imaginable level of wealth, social status and military training (20).

When Drogo had been granted Holderness by King William, he was driven by the same urgent needs as his king: to strengthen his hold on his new land and to reward his followers. In addition he had to provide a number of knights when his king called for them. This quota of knights was later known as the servitium debitum.

How the knights were found to fulfil the servitium debitum does not seem to have greatly concerned the king for the first hundred years after the Conquest. The tenant in chief could hire knights, if he could find them: but this must have always been an uncertain method, and the two most likely ways of securing the services of knights were either to keep the knights in his own household, or to give the men land in return for a promise to serve with the lord when required (21).

Household knights lingered on longer in the northern Danelaw than elsewhere in England. There was very little subinfeudation by 1086 in Yorkshire as a whole, because of the devastation of 1070; even in 1166 many Yorkshire barons still provided their quota of knights from men of the household (22). The archbishop of York wrote to Henry II in 1166 that he kept some knights at his side, on his demesne and at his table (23), and many of his northern contemporaries did likewise.

Many household knights at the time of Domesday were provided with small holdings around their lord's residence; in this way they were available for immediate service if need arose, but to some extent, at least, were independent. Similar groups of tenants are found at many places where the residence of a great French lord is proved by the earthworks of an early Norman castle (24). Drogo's knights fit this pattern: four of them (nearly half) were holding land at or near Aldbrough, the "old stronghold" where there was an early castle (25). Three knights were on the demesne manor of Preston. The remaining three knights were at Catwick and the adjoining village of Brandesburton, where there was neither a castle nor a demesne manor (26). Some at least of the nameless knights of the Holderness Domesday were household knights who were farming manors, for the most part close to their lord's great manors, either as individuals or as a group. In this connection the description of the archbishop's manor of Ottringham is interesting:

Berewick. In Ottringham  $6\frac{1}{2}$  carucates of land for geld.  
A church is there, and a priest. A certain knight  
rents (locat) it, and renders 10s.

(27)

Milites are much less common in the Lincolnshire Domesday, and none is mentioned on the Lincolnshire lands of Drogo. But there is an analogous group, the seven francigenae of Bytham, who had two plough teams and three iron-workers' stalls, rendering 40s. 8d. to Drogo (28). Bytham has still the earthworks of a motte and bailey castle, which became the head of the Aumale fee in Lincolnshire.

It is curious that Drogo had 10 milites in Holderness, for that was the amount of service owed by his successors in Holderness to the crown (29).



In addition to the milites, there was a more important type of military tenant, the men called in Domesday Book homines. The twenty-two men of this type in Holderness were:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Place where land held</u>	<u>Carucates for geld</u>
Albert	Ganstead	4
Alelm	Waxholme	2
Baldwin	Garton & Ringborough: Rimswell (jointly)	8: 5 car. 2 bov.
	Nunkeeling: Preston	4: 10 car. 2 bov.
Erenbald	Ulrome	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Franco	Rise, Bilton, Catfoss, Marton	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ : 1: 6: 1
Frumold	Oubrough	2
Fulk	Roos	3 car. 5 bov.
Gerbodo	Long Riston	3
Gumar	Halsham	6 bov.
Guntard	Rimswell (jointly)	5 car. 2 bov.
Henry	Ottringham	4
Lanbert	Sutton	3 car. 2 bov.
Manbodo	Bewholme	5 car. 6 bov.
Radulph	Carlton	2
Rayner	Hatfield, Arram	3: 1
Robert	Seaton	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 6
Roger	Sproatley	4
Tedbald	Ellerby	4
Turstin	Wassand	2
Walter	Hatfield, Holmpton, "Thorpe"	2 car. 3 bov.: 8: 3
Wazelin	Withernwick	1
Wizo	Hornsea	composite entry

In addition to the men named in the above list, the "men of Drogo" held 27 carucates for geld in seven places in the soc of Mappleton.

Some of these men, or at least men with the same name, were tenants of Drogo de la Beuvrière in Lincolnshire or elsewhere, in addition to their Holderness lands. It was a characteristic of later holdings of the honour of Holderness that they lay on both sides of the Humber (30).

It is interesting that nearly all the names of the homines on Drogo's land in Holderness are Germanic: Franco, Rayner, Walter, Tedbald, Albert, Alelm, Lanbert, Baldwin, Henry, Guntard, Erenbald, Manbodo, Gerbodo and Fulk. Of these names Albert, Alelm, Baldwin, Erenbald, Gerbodo, Lanbert, Manbodo and Tedbald are especially Flemish names, as is Drogo, the Flemish form of Drew, and Wizo (31). Obviously many of Drogo's followers had come from German-speaking Flanders, as had Drogo himself: from Beuvrière, near Béthune. From the same region came Franco de Fauconberg, known to be a Domesday settler from another source (32) and the St Quintins, first recorded as tenants of the honour by 1115-1118 (33). The lands to the east of Normandy supplied many knights to the Conqueror's army, and there was a tendency for small ethnic groups of settlers to stay together in the uneasy conditions of post-Conquest England. It is easier to identify the Breton group on the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire estates of the Richmond fee, because of their unusual Christian names, than the Flemish settlers, but the preponderance of Germanic names indicates a primarily Flemish settlement of Holderness under Drogo (34). It may have been this group that the Conqueror had in mind when before the autumn of 1069, he promised to do justice if any one "French or Flemish or English" did wrong to Archbishop Aldred of York (35).

In addition to Domesday Book, there is one other source of names of 11th century settlers in Holderness. The Meaux chronicle gives a picture of the newcomers, a small group of men arriving at the same time, and conferring together to divide up their new acquisitions fairly.

Gamel son of Ketell of Meaux, grandfather or father of John de Meaux, set out from the city in France called in French Meaux, and came with William the Northman, king and conqueror, and with other men followed fortune to his home in these parts of Holderness. Gamel, inhabitant of this place [Meaux in Holderness] and some fellow dwellers of neighbouring domains, that is Sir Basyng of Wawne, Siward of Sutton, Franco de Fauconberg of Rise and Richard de Scruteville of Routh, arriving together at the same time were (after the war of the Normans) placed over the aforesaid villas as lords. After the war had pacified the realm, these men, by common council and forseeing the need for their heirs, made definite boundaries for their possessions, agreeing the bounds between themselves, to eliminate the disputes of their successors.

(36)

Domesday Book and early 12th-century evidence reinforce the tenancies described by the chronicler of Meaux (37).

Men such as Gamel son of Ketell were not mercenaries but settlers, and knew that they were going to stay in Holderness, for they "foresaw the need for their heirs" to define the boundaries of their new lands from the beginning. It is fortunate that the family of one of these men, Franco de Fauconberg, provides continuity from the time of Domesday Book until the proliferation of records in the 12th century and beyond. For when the family of Fauconberg emerges again from the years of silence, it is obvious that it has become one of the principal families of Holderness, supplying "honorial barons" to counsel the lords of Holderness. Stephen count of Aumale addressed three of his charters to his barons, one being specifically to the barons of Holderness, and one of his charters mentions that the barons were witnesses (38). William le Gros addressed 13 of his charters to his honorial barons (39); it is families like the Fauconbergs that form the baronial class of Holderness, and these men are the direct descendants of the homines of Domesday Book.

To William le Gros baro and homo are interchangeable terms, without one being more prestigious than the other, for he made substantial grants to Morwan his homo, Alan son of Hubert his homo and Robert de Octon his homo (40), using the word in the Domesday sense, while a man like Thomas son of Vuieht, who held 6 carucates, very much less than a knight's fee, and Isaac de Skeffling, similarly with only a small amount of land, could be called by the count a baron (41).

By the end of the 12th century however, it was much more common to use the word homines in the address of a charter, where the earlier counts would have used barones: the wheel had turned full circle and the Domesday use of the word had returned, ousting the idea of the honorial baron, who disappeared about 1200 on all but the greatest regalities (42). In Holderness by the end of the 12th century the former homines and barones had become milites, which it is now reasonable to translate as "knights".

Men like Gamel, Basyng, Siward and Franco, having "followed their fortune" to Holderness in the wake of Drogo, expected to be rewarded with fiefs and were not content to be landless knights for ever. As well as having his quota to fulfil for the king, Drogo was under pressure from his followers to give them land: the same pressure that made the archbishop of York enfeoff many more than the 20 knights he owed the king, to provide for their relatives and their men (43). How did Drogo provide for his followers?

Almost every baron in England seems to have kept in demesne his more valuable estates while granting out the smaller ones as fiefs (44). In Holderness out of 9 large manors with sokes and berewicks worth over £5 at the depressed 1086 values, Drogo kept 8 (45). Out of a total recorded value of Drogo's lands in Holderness in 1086 of (approximately) £93 6s., he kept in demesne £65 1s. worth of land, and his homines shared £28 5s. worth of land.

As well as granting out the less valuable estates, the more scattered estates also tended to become enfeoffed early, as they were more difficult to administer because of their distance from the centre of the honour. This principle can be seen working in Lincolnshire, where very little demesne land remained to the Aumales in the next century: only Castle Bytham survived as a great demesne manor until c.1185.

Drogo did not give his followers compact blocks of land, and he did not give them all the lands of a Saxon predecessor, as had happened in many parts of England when lands were distributed to the tenants in chief. Only four of Drogo's homines held land in more than one vill: Baldwin, who held lands in Garton and Ringborough, Rimsweil, Nunkeeling and Preston that had previously belonged to Morcar, Ode, the two Chilverts and eight Danes in Preston; Franco, whose predecessors in Rise, Bilton, Catfoss and Marton were Cnut, Aldene and Swen; Walter, whose predecessors in Hatfield, Holmpton and "Thorpe" were Turgot, Rede and six Danes; and Rayner, whose predecessors were Ravenchil, Chilvert and Torchil (46).

None of the grants of land given to the homines by Drogo was very large. The largest tenancy was Baldwin's of  $27\frac{1}{2}$  carucates in 4 places: the smallest was Gumar's 6 bovates at Halsham. The average holding was about 5 carucates, which in many parts of Yorkshire would be sufficient to form a knight's fee, but not in Holderness, where the size of the fees became established subsequently at a massive 48 carucates.

The value of the lands granted to the homines varied as much as the carucage. In Holderness at the depressed values of 1086 the holdings varied from £6 down to 5s.: the average being just under £1 (47).

The wide variation in size and value of the lands given to his homines by Drogo shows that there was at this time no standard fee in Holderness: each enfeoffment (there is no charter evidence of any of these enfeoffments at this period) must represent an individual bargain made between lord and man, or (as no military service is implied either in Domesday Book or in the Meaux chronicle account of the first settlers) as an individual reward for services rendered and anticipated. In all



parts of England it was a long time after the Conquest before there was any standardisation of the knight's fee, and in most honours it is possible that nothing approaching uniformity was ever achieved (48). In Holderness however a standard fee was established, probably at the very end of the 12th century.

Very shortly after the compilation of Domesday Book a tremendous upheaval took place in Holderness when Drogo (before 9 September 1087 when the Conqueror died) fled the country and his fief was confiscated. It would be interesting to know if the knights and barons followed him to exile in Flanders, or were forced out by the king, or if they remained under the new regime of the Aumales, represented initially by Odo count of Champagne. Unfortunately it is not possible to be sure what happened in Holderness at this time. One family at least remained in possession of their Domesday lands, the Fauconbergs. The Meaux family in its Bewick and Sutton branches and the Scrutevilles also continued on the lands which (according to the Meaux chronicle) they had acquired when they came to resettle Yorkshire after the Norman war. But Baldwin, Walter and Rayner, the first two being substantial tenants, probably left, because the lands they held at Domesday are not subsequently found in the ownership of one family only, but were split between several families or returned to the demesne (49). For most of the Domesday tenants of Holderness, who only held one manor, there is too little evidence to connect them with the tenants of the same manors when evidence of landholding begins to be more common, in the middle of the 12th century.

What had Drogo's tenure of Holderness achieved? It seems that by 1086 the old order of many Danish freemen holding small pieces of land had gone for ever, and the new structure of a smaller number of foreigners was established. This was probably the most revolutionary change that had occurred since the Danish invasions. It was probably also in Drogo's time that the assessment of knight service due from Holderness, or servitium debitum, was fixed by the king.

### Servitium debitum

The view of most modern historians, following the work of John Horace Round, is that having granted English lands to his followers the Conqueror then demanded quotas of knights for military service from his tenants in chief, at an early period of his reign and probably from the time of the original enfeoffment. The quotas were unrelated to the area or value of the land granted to the tenants in chief, but there was a tendency for the quotas to be in units of 5 or 10. No doubt William drove as hard a bargain with his followers as he could: according to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle "the king granted his land on the hardest terms and at the highest possible price" (50). Orderic Vitalis records that William distributed lands to his knights in such a manner that the kingdom should henceforth have 60,000 knights to answer his summons, and although the figure of 60,000 is unlikely, the principle is reasonable (51).

The amount of knight service due, or servitium debitum as it became known, was fixed by King William in the years immediately following the Conquest. The quota system seems to have been already used to provide troops for the expedition to Scotland in 1072, and the records of Christ Church Canterbury of a slightly later date indicate that many of its details had been worked out before the end of the reign (52).

The later servitium debitum for Holderness (first recorded in about 1166) was for 10 knights, with a further 10 knights from Lincolnshire, which was counted as being part of the honour of Holderness or Aumale (53). Unfortunately there is no very precise list of the knights' fees of Holderness. There were no returns in 1166 from the count of Aumale in England, or in 1172 in Normandy, and both exchequers merely recorded that the count was among those "qui non venerunt nec miserunt nec aliquid dixerunt" (54). But an undated return in the Red Book of the Exchequer after the copies of the cartae which most of the barons of England sent listing their knights reads "the count of Aumale holds in this county [York] the fee of 10 knights" and this is confirmed by the 1212 inquest (55).

There are no returns relating to the Holderness fees in the Yorkshire entries in the Book of Fees, which mainly deals with the first half of the 13th century. The first surveys of the count's fees in Holderness come from the end of the 13th century, when there is a series of extents and surveys produced in connection with the death of the last count in 1260. Even these seem to have led to some confusion, for there are several surveys of the knights' fees of Holderness, and three texts of a De Certiorari of 15 Edward I (56). Another partial survey of the fees of the knights of Holderness assigned in dower to the countess of Aumale

describes  $3\frac{1}{3}$  fees, confirming that the servitium debitum at the end of the 13th century was indeed 10 knights from Holderness (57).

### The size of the knights' fees

By the end of the 12th century and continuously thereafter the knights' fees in Holderness held from the count of Aumale were extremely large, being based on a unit of 48 carucates, 8 bovates making 1 carucate (58). This 48-carucate fee is first mentioned between 1179 and 1189 (59). Nowhere else in Yorkshire were there such large fees as the count's fees in Holderness. There were reckoned to be 8 bovates to 1 carucate in Drogo's lands as early as Domesday Book (60), and indeed this division of the carucate was almost universal throughout the Danelaw (61). But in the archbishop's lands in Holderness, for some yet undiscerned reason, 12 bovates made 1 carucate, and 8 carucates made a knight's fee, from at least 1188 (62). It could happen therefore, that in a village like Halsham, where part belonged to the count and part to the archbishop of York, that at one end of the village 384 bovates made 1 fee, and at the other end of the village 96 bovates made 1 fee.

In the neighbouring Gant fee, north of Holderness, 7 carucates made a knight's fee (63). Elsewhere in Yorkshire, the size of a fee varied greatly. In most of the Aumales' Skipton fee the size was 14 carucates: in the Bulmer fee the basis was 12 carucates (64). Twelfth-century evidence shows great disparity between different fees of the honour of Mowbray, ranging from  $10\frac{1}{2}$  carucates with a mill to 24 carucates (65). In the Trussebut and Ros fees, the number of carucates to a knight's fee included 8, 9 and 12 carucates, 12 carucates 6 bovates, and 14 carucates (66). The Tison fee had knights' fees of 8, 11 and 24 carucates (67). The Percy fee produces similar variable numbers of 5, 6, 8, 10, 12,  $12\frac{1}{2}$ , 14, 16, 18, 20 and 27 carucates to a fee (68). It is at once apparent that although the Yorkshire fee is of variable size, none of the fees approaches the size of the Holderness lay fee of 48 carucates (69). The knight's fee was in most cases the result of a bargain between a lord and his tenant: a holding for which a man had, at the time the agreement was made, agreed to perform the service of one knight. The typical knight's fee is an elusive conception (70), and it is not likely that in the Anglo-Norman period there was any particular size of fee in an honour, or any particular value. The very large fees of Holderness came later: but it is possible that the reason for their size lies in the earliest enfeoffments.

What is the reason for these enormous knights' fees? Possibly marcher lordships, of which Holderness was an example, were made up of much



larger than normal fees: in the Border counties military service due from the baronies was relatively low (71) although it is not possible to be very precise about this, as the size of border fees is not usually given in surveys of fees and inquisitions post mortem. Whatever the reason, the fees were not large because of the poverty of the land, for in Domesday Book Holderness was one of the richest districts of Yorkshire, with the least waste.

### The military tenants

There is no more fruitless task than endeavouring to work out the descent of the knights' fees in Holderness in detail. All the surveys that exist (and there is a great gap in the surveys between 1086 and 1260) show wide variations in the descriptions of landholding, and most of the surveys are incomplete and ambiguous. There were no great blocks of tenants' fees in Holderness, no man held more than one fee, and although their size was very large, the holdings of the knights seem to have been remarkably fragmented.

The first survey which is reasonably complete is that of c.1260 (72), and for all its failings the survey gives some comparative figures which show, however imprecisely, the main outlines of the knights' fees in Holderness at that date. There were 9 fees  $+ \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$ : it seems  $\frac{1}{8}$  had been lost by a kind of natural wastage which often occurred. The figure so closely approximates to 10 fees, that the lords of Holderness must have enfeoffed the exact amount of the servitium debitum, neither more nor less. There were 40 tenants holding by military service. Only three tenants held amounts of land approximating to a full knight's fee of 48 carucates: these were Herbert de St Quintin, with just under 44 carucates in 11 different places (73), William de Ros with 42 carucates of land in 8 places (74) and Walter de Fauconberg with nearly 42 carucates of land in 14 places (75). From the assignment of fees in dower to the countess of Aumale, post 1260, it appears that the heirs of Fulk de Oyry also held a knight's fee in Holderness, although it is not clear how this fits in with the 1260 survey (76). The carucate on which the fees were based has an ancient history in the East Riding.

The unit of the knight's fee, the carucate, the Danelaw equivalent of the hide, was a unit of assessment for fiscal purposes in the East Riding from at least 963 and in Holderness from at least 1033 (77). The Latin word used in the pre-Conquest charters is casati, which also occurs in Yorkshire in 958 and 959 (78); the native word used in the boundary clauses is plogaland. Comparison between the 963 Newbald charter and the 1033 Patrington charter, and the relevant entries in Domesday Book, show that the casati or plogaland was equivalent to the later carucate. The small unit of the pre-Conquest charters was the oxgang, later to be called the bovate (79). The existence of the two Anglo-Saxon charters for Newbald and Patrington shows that the Anglo-Norman carucates for geld assessments of Domesday Book were the same as the pre-Conquest assessments, for Patrington and its soke lands were assessed at 43 casati in 1044 and 42 carucates and  $3\frac{2}{3}$  bovates in 1086, and the archbishop's

estate in Newbald at 30 casati in 963 and Newbald and Cave together in 1086 at 30 carucates.

Moreover in numerous cases the carucates for geld of Domesday Book, as well as being projected backwards before the Conquest for at least another century, can be shown to have remained as the official measurement of the vill in Holderness until the end of the 13th century and beyond. "The arithmetical eccentricities of the [Domesday] Inquest clerks are notorious, even when the difficulties of addition of Roman numerals are discounted. They are at their worst in Yorkshire, and are frequently inexplicable" (80). Nevertheless in vill after vill the Domesday carucage is precisely the same as that of the inquest of knights' fees of c.1260 in Holderness: in Hornsea Burton, Catfoss, Little Hatfield, Great Cowden, Ottringham, Coniston and many others (81). Probably if there was more evidence, or more accurate surveys, it could be shown that in every case the carucage of a vill remained the same, no matter how much land was actually being cultivated. The carucates were fiscal units, rather than real units. After 1086 no new assessment of England was made, but the valuation throughout the country remained fixed, unless by some special arrangement the tenants received a reduction or exemption, and there is no evidence that this happened in Holderness. Various attempts made from 1198 on to reassess the carucage of England on a more real basis, at the same time establishing a uniform carucate of 100 acres (or possibly a long hundred of 120 acres), were unsuccessful (82). The "carucate for geld" of Domesday Book, then, was a completely different type of measure from the acre or the league. It remained as a fiscal unit and the basis of the knight's fee until the end of the 13th century and beyond (83).

The total number of carucates listed in Drogo's land of Holderness in 1086 was: about 642. In addition approximately 116 carucates were held by the archbishop of York and Beverley minster. By c.1260 there were c.400 carucates of land held by military service in Holderness (84), a sum which did not include the demesne lands; a similar survey made between 1273 and 1275 gives about 402 carucates in Holderness (85). Kirkby's Quest of 1284-1285 totals 352 carucates held from the count by military service, but this figure included neither the demesne lands nor the archbishop's land (86).

In 1086 some Holderness land had already been granted to his men (homines) by Drogo, about 134 carucates, between  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the total carucage, and about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the total value. He had kept in demesne some

500 carucates, some of which was waste, and some of which supported the milites, or in rare cases priests. Obviously the enfeoffment of men in Holderness was not completed in Drogo's time, but many more fiefs were to be granted in the time of the Aumales.

After Drogo's flight Holderness and the Lincolnshire lands were transferred to Count Odo of Champagne, by right of his wife titular count of Aumale. This transfer took place before the death of the Conqueror in September 1087; and Odo was present in Yorkshire in 1088 on the occasion of the founding of St Mary's abbey, York (87). Apart from a few years when Holderness was in the hands of Arnulf de Montgomery, the Aumale family possessed Holderness until the end of the 13th century. It was that family which completed the infra-structure of the Conquest, the sub-infeudation of knights' fees in Holderness, which, begun by Drogo, was completed by his successors.

Many of the Aumale tenants in England came from that corner of Normandy where the castle and comte of Aumale lay, on the river Bresle, at the meeting point of Seine-Inferieure, Somme and Oise. The first time that any of the Aumale tenants in England are named after 1086 is in the Lindsey Survey of 1115-1118: four names are given as tenants of Stephen count of Aumale, and they are Herbert de St Quintin, William de Alost, Anscetil de Scures and Osbert de Hagworthingham (88).

Of these four men, three were certainly "French" using the adjective in its widest sense. Herbert de St Quintin's family may have come from any of several St Quintins in France. Herbert was in England from c.1102, and was probably the son of Richard de St Quintin, a knight of Robert Fitz Hamon, who was present at the conquest of Glamorgan c.1090. The St Quintin family held land amounting to just under one knight's fee in Holderness in the 13th century (89).

Anscetil de Scures's family was probably from Ecuire, near Montreuil-sur-Mer, which had belonged to the count of Ponthieu, the first husband of Stephen count of Aumale's mother. Anscetil gave land in Riston in Holderness to Bridlington priory, before 1130 when he had been succeeded by his son Alan (90). The Scures subsequently held lands in Riston, Humbleton, Tunstall and Fitling in Holderness (91).



The Alosts were Flemings and came from Alost near Ghent, in Flanders: they may have come to Lincolnshire with Drogo or with the Gant family, who held Bridlington and other lands on the northern border of Holderness. The Alosts subsequently married into a Holderness family, the Constables of Burton Constable (92). The fourth tenant of the Lindsey Survey, Osbert de Hagworthingham, cannot be assigned to any place of origin (except the vill of Hagworthingham in Lincolnshire which he held) and is not known to have had interests in Holderness.

From Count Stephen of Aumale's charters it is clear that the families of Areyns, Oyry, and Monceaux were all members of his circle in Normandy, and it is reasonable to suppose that either he or his father Odo introduced them into England, where they are subsequently found in Holderness. Not all the Frenchmen who constantly witnessed Stephen's charters came into Holderness however: the prime examples of this are the d'Aunay and Biset families, whose future lay elsewhere in England, and not on the Aumale lands (93).

In addition to these families who came from Normandy, another man was enfeoffed with Holderness land because of his prestigious office and connections: between 1100 and 1116 the sheriff of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, Osbert de Humbria, was given two vills by the count of Aumale "because he was of the king's household" and for this reason he acquired land from many earls and barons of England (94).

William le Gros's charters, far more numerous, introduce the additional Norman families of Amundeville, Blosseville, Foliot, Fribois and Mainers, all settlers on the count's lands in England (95). Many more such transfers of tenants from Normandy to England must be obscured by the tendency for Norman settlers to become known by their English tenancy names, often so much more important than their Norman fiefs. For instance, the Rotoirs family, from the place of that name in Aumale, were donors to Aumale abbey before 1096 (96), but enfeoffed with the land of Nuthill in Holderness in the mid 12th century were thereafter called Nuthill (97).

William de Mandeville, first husband of William le Gros's daughter and heiress Hawisa, used many men with French names as witnesses to his charters, but his only enfeoffments known in the Aumale lands are those to Walter the Chamberlain at Paull Holme in Holderness, and to the Coleville family, which had been in England since the time of Domesday Book, to whom William de Mandeville granted lands at Castle Bytham in Lincolnshire, the caput of the Aumale fee there (98).

It does not seem from the available evidence that subsequent counts of Aumale introduced new families into their English lands. Their new enfeoffments were very few, and in the main confined to grants to officers of their household (99).

By 1260 there were 40 military tenants in Holderness. Of these men, 17 had English place-names as surnames, 10 had French place-names as surnames, 5 had occupation names and a further 8 were of unknown provenance (100). Of the English place-names that were used as surnames, all the places except Pattishall (Northants.) and Merston (Kent, Sussex or Wight) are not only Yorkshire names, but also almost all Holderness names: only Pickering in the North Riding (where the Aumales held lands) and Sherburn in the East Riding (belonging to the archbishop of York) are exceptions. This is remarkable evidence of the static nature of Holderness society, even at the highest social level. The officials of the honour were promoted freely from Lincolnshire or Skipton to Holderness and vice versa: but evidently there was much less movement between the military fiefs.

The most important of the counts' knights were from the families of Fauconberg, St Quintin and Ros. Only these three families held the large amount of land of the honour necessary to make up one knight's fee (101).

### Fauconberg

The first Fauconberg to settle in Holderness was Franco, the man (homo) of Drogo de la Beuvrière, who came with the Conqueror and after the war of conquest was given Rise, Bilton, Catfoss and Marton, all in Holderness (102). Franco is thought to have been one of the family of the *châtelains* de St Omer, *seigneurs* de Fauquembergue (103): he was succeeded in Holderness by Robert de Fauconberg, who was probably his son, for Robert's son in turn was born before 1130 (104).

Robert de Fauconberg married Agnes, daughter of the Domesday tenant Osbern de Arches, who had previously been married to Herbert de St Quintin (105). Agnes was the holder of Appleton Roebuck in the West Riding (her daughter later founded nearby Nun Appleton priory), and also, by possession of her St Quintin dower lands, she was tenant of lands in Holderness on part of which she founded Nunkeeling priory (106). Through the marriages of Agnes de Arches, whose third husband was to be William Foliot, also a tenant of the Aumales, the Fauconbergs were related to the Brus family, the Percies and the Kymes, all connected with the counts of Aumale (107).

Robert de Fauconberg was succeeded by his son Peter I, who was born before 1130 and married a Beatrice of unrecorded parentage. He witnessed a charter of William le Gros, count of Aumale, in 1150 and was probably in possession of his inheritance by this time. He gave land to Meaux between 1182 and 1197 (108) and land in Withernwick to Thornton abbey before 1190 (109).

Other members of Peter's family had gone to Palestine. One Walter de Fauconberg was attached to the court of King Baldwin of Jerusalem c.1150; he was of the family of the castellan of St Omer, and was later lord of Tiberias in succession to Hugh de Fauconberg (110).

Peter I had at least four sons, William, Walter, Stephen and Eustace. He was succeeded by Walter before 1194 (111). Walter married Agnes, daughter and co-heiress of Simon fitz Simon, of Whitton, Mablethorpe and Risby, Lincolnshire. Agnes's sister Petronella married Stephen de Fauconberg. By 1202 the Fauconbergs had acquired Bewholme in Holderness in addition to their Domesday lands and Withernwick, which came before 1190 (112). Walter gave land in Long Riston in Holderness and also half of his mares in Craven to Meaux abbey (113). His brother Eustace was a royal judge, treasurer of England and bishop of London from 1222-1228 (114).

Walter's son Peter II was against the king at the end of John's reign and returned to his allegiance in 1217 (115). He had inherited his lands by 1219 if not before, when he owed 20 marks towards the Poitevin aid, and relief on a fee of  $\frac{1}{2}$  knight (116). He married Margaret, daughter of Richard de Munfichet, of Stansted, Essex, whose sister married William de Forz II, count of Aumale, and thus Peter became brother-in-law of the count, who gave him land in Elstronwick as a wedding present (117). By 1221 Peter was suspected of being concerned in the count's rebellion over Bytham, the only one of his greater tenants who seems to have been involved (118). He was still in possession of his estates in Holderness in 1245, including his park at Rise, when a hunting party of the count's men broke the paling around the park and forced their way in with horses and arms, pursuing a young stag with dogs and the noise of horns right inside the house, where the count's hound bit Peter's daughter as she tried to save the stag (119). The quarrel about the hunting had been continuing since 1228 and included disputes about fishing rights (120).

About 1251 Peter de Fauconberg II presented a clerk to the family church of Rise (121), but he was dead by c.1260, when his son held the inheritance (122). The Andrew de Fauconberg who did military service in Poitou in 1214 for the community of Holderness (123) was Peter's brother (124). By the end of Peter's life (if not before) the Fauconbergs also held land of the Aumales in Norfolk (125).

Between 1251 and 1260 Peter de Fauconberg's lands were inherited by Walter II, his son. Walter was on the king's service in Gascony with the earl of Leicester in April 1254. Forfeiting his estates in the earl's rebellion, they were given to Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, and Walter had to redeem them in 1268. He married Agnes, sister and co-heiress of Peter de Brus II, probably before 1243, and through her acquired in 1272 the castle and forest of Silton and other manors and properties and franchises in the North Riding (126). He died in 1304 at Rise and was buried at Nunkeeling.

### St Quintin

The first member of the St Quintin family to be recorded as a tenant of the Aumales was Herbert, who was between 1115 and 1118 a tenant in Stainton, Lincolnshire, of Stephen, count of Aumale. He was probably the son of Richard de St Quintin, who was a knight in the retinue of Robert Fitz Hamon at the conquest of Glamorgan c.1090, and obtained the fief of Llanblethian, where he built the castle of St Quintin (127). Herbert was in Glamorgan in 1102, witnessing a charter to Glastonbury abbey; he occurs in the survey of Winchester, c.1110, holding several houses in the city.

Herbert was established in Holderness in the early 12th century, where his family subsequently held lands at Brandesburton, Ellerby, Thirkleby, Dowthorpe, Bewholme, Roos, Burshill, Rysome Garth, Rimswell, Owthorne, Mappleton, Ganstead, Langthorpe, Owstwick and Rowlston. They also held Thimbleby in Lincolnshire: Stainton in the same county was given by the St Quintins to Thornton abbey (128). The family also held a mesne tenancy of about  $\frac{1}{2}$  knight's fee in Holderness, in Mappleton, Rowlston and Owstwick of the Merlays, who held of the Brus family, who held of the counts of Aumale. Other lands together with these held outside Holderness from the Brus family burdened the St Quintins with a total of  $2\frac{1}{3}$  fees' service owed to Brus (129). The St Quintins also held a tenancy of the Scrutevilles in Routh (130). Herbert was twice married, the second time to Agnes de Arches (who subsequently married Robert de Fauconberg).

By 1126 Herbert I had been succeeded by his son by his first marriage,



Richard, who held in addition to the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire lands 10 fees of the old enfeoffment from the earl of Gloucester, in Glamorgan and in Frome St Quintin, Belchalwell and Fifehead St Quintin in Dorset, and Stanton St Quintin in Wiltshire. These Gloucester fees are recorded in the return of the honour of Gloucester in 1166.

Herbert II, son and heir of Richard, was engaged in Holderness law suits by 1201-1202 (131) and may be supposed to have inherited by then: and possibly he succeeded as early as 1181, when he witnessed a charter of William de Mandeville, count of Aumale, at Westminster (132). He married Agnes, one of the five sisters and co-heirs of Anselm de Stuteville of West Coleville, Cambridgeshire, who brought him Burton Agnes in the East Riding (which he held by 1194) and Mappleton in Holderness (133). Another of the Stuteville sisters married the Aumale tenant at Castle Bytham, William de Coleville (134). Herbert was in Ireland in 1210 with his son John (135). He was dead by 1223 when his widow was suing for dower in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire (136).

Herbert was succeeded in turn by his sons Herbert III (d.s.p.), John (d.s.p.) and Anselm, whose two sons William and Hugh also died without issue, and finally the inheritance passed to the fourth son of Herbert II, William, in 1241. William's son, Herbert IV, succeeded by 1277 and died 1302.

John gave all his fee in Holderness which he held of the count of Aumale to his brother Anselm before 1224 (137). This included the homage and service of William de Ros for 8 carucates; the homage and service of Peter de Fauconberg for 9 carucates; and the homage and service of W(illiam) de St Quintin his brother for 11 carucates; to be held by Anselm directly from the count. The principal manor of the St Quintins in Holderness was at Brandesburton, and members of the family were buried in the church there (138).

### Ros

The Ros family took their name from the village of Roos in Holderness. The first identifiable member of the family was Peter de Ros, steward of the count of Aumale in the first third of the 12th century (139). He married one of the sisters and co-heiresses of Walter l'Espece, lord of Helmsley in the North Riding and of Wark in Northumberland, thereby founding the family fortunes, for his heirs held widespread lands inherited from this marriage.

Everard, son and heir of Peter, was in possession of his inheritance in Holderness before 1128, giving the church of Atwick to Bridlington priory (140)

He gave 2 marks to the king in 1130 that he might no longer be steward of the count of Aumale (1141). He continued to be associated with the Aumales however until his death in or before 1153, when his brother Robert I succeeded. Robert too may have held office under the counts, for he is described as constable (1142).

Robert I inherited his uncle's lands in the North Riding and elsewhere in 1157-1158 (1143) and moved from seignorial to royal administration, being for several years from 1158 in charge of works at the king's castle of Scarborough. This castle had been begun by William le Gros, count of Aumale, and given up to Henry II in 1155, so it is possible that Robert de Ros had been associated with the castle works previously. He married Sybil de Valognes and died in 1162 or 1163. Sybil subsequently married William de Percy.

Robert was succeeded by Everard II who was still a minor in 1166. He married Roese, the sister and heiress of William Trussebut, who brought the Ros family eventually all the lands of the Trussebuts in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, held for 10 knights' fees, and the fee of Warter in the East Riding, held for 4 and a fraction fees (1144). It was possibly a brother of Everard, a man named Walter brother of Peter de Ros, who was killed at the siege of Acre in 1190 (1145).

At Everard's death in 1183 another minority followed, for his son Robert de Ros II, nicknamed Furfan, was in the king's wardship and his lands were in the custody of Ranulf Glanville. From 1190 to 1226 Robert Furfan ruled his large northern estates, as well as spending much time in Normandy before 1204, where he held at least  $\frac{1}{2}$  knight's fee in Calvados (1146). He took a leading part in the restoration of William de Forz II in 1214, in the resistance to the Poitevin expedition of the same year and the other events leading to the revolt of the Northerners and Magna Carta. He was one of the 25 barons elected in 1215 to see that the provisions of the Charter were observed. He and his son William supported Prince Louis vigorously until the battle of Lincoln when William was captured. In 1221 however, Ros supported the king against William de Forz II. Much of Robert Furfan's career influenced national history, particularly in the last years of John's reign (1147). He married Isabel, the (illegitimate) daughter of William the Lion, king of Scots, her first husband having been Robert Bruce. Through this marriage, a great-grandson of Robert Furfan and Isabel, William de Ros, was in 1291 a claimant for the throne of Scotland.

In his active political life, Robert Furfan had time to negotiate in

1208 an agreement with the abbot of St Mary's York, that Robert, his wife and their heirs, should have permission to own a little boat to fish on Hornsea mere "without waste or sale" of the fish, as long as they stayed in their demesne lands in Holderness or at Garton on the Wolds (148). He also spent long enough in Holderness to export wool and leather from the Humber, and to import wine (149). He was a patron of the Knights Templars, and his effigy is in the Temple church, London (150).

William de Ros, son of Furfan, succeeded in 1206, his father having either become a Templar or died by that year. He remained loyal to the king throughout the disturbances of Fawkes de Breauté's rebellion and the later Barons' War. He took part in most of the campaigns of Henry III's reign, and died about 1264, being buried at the family foundation of Kirkham. The barony of Wark had been given by Furfan to his younger son Robert, and the barony of Helmsley and the Holderness lands remained to William's descendants.

With comparatively humble origins, the Ros family climbed from a village in Holderness to within sight of a kingdom. They continued to keep their Holderness lands, although they were of little importance in the sum total of the Ros's total holdings in England. In c.1260 they held just under 1 knight's fee in Holderness. In addition they held land in Roos and Burton Pidsea from the Fauconberg family, and land in Roos and elsewhere from the St Quintins (151). Roos continued to be the main tenancy of the Ros family in Holderness, although only part of the land was held in chief of the counts of Aumale. At Roos there was a manor court, for which the Ros family claimed infangethef, and the assizes of bread and ale (152). In 1242 in an interesting case William de Ros was endeavouring to free his court at Roos from the count's restrictions (153).

All three of these great families show certain typical features. They were all settled in Holderness at a very early period: the Fauconbergs at the time of Domesday Book or earlier, the St Quintin and Ros families in the early 12th century. After the first settlement of England there was little chance for new men to settle, except by marrying into an established family. There must have been rearrangement when the lands confiscated from the Normans after the loss of Normandy was redistributed, but this seems to have made no great difference on the Aumale estates. When a man such as

Peter de Maulay or Robert de Turnham, both favourites of John, wanted to break into the ranks of the Yorkshire baronage, their entry was by marriage with an heiress.

None of the three families had very large estates in Holderness. Their rank was that of baron, but this was due to their interests elsewhere rather than their one knight's fee apiece in Holderness. Nevertheless the East Riding provided the first foothold in England for all three families, and from a Holderness village the Ros family came within reach of the throne of Scotland.

The families and other tenants of the counts of Aumale, and the barons and knights of England generally, were very closely interconnected. The Fauconbergs were related to the St Quintins, and also to the Brus, Percy and Kyme families. One Fauconberg married the sister of a countess of Aumale. The St Quintins held tenancies of the Brus family and of the Scrutevilles in Holderness and were related to the Stutevilles and to the Colevilles of Castle Bytham. Both the Ros family and the Fauconbergs held mesne tenures from the St Quintins, and the Ros family held of the Fauconbergs as well. It was usual rather than abnormal for barons and knights to hold extensive tenures of several baronies: for instance, Eustace de Vesci in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire held of Mowbray, Fossard, the bishop of Durham, Gilbert de Gant, Bigod and Stuteville and the honours of Tickhill and Knaresborough. The Amundevilles were tenants of the Aumales and also of the bishop of Lincoln, Gant, Darcy and the honour of Lancaster: Adam de Staveley was tenant of the Aumales at Skipton, and of the honours of Mowbray and Knaresborough: Mauger and Robert Vavasour were tenants of the Aumales and also of Lacy, of the archbishop of York, Mowbray and Percy (154). The Aumales themselves were tenants of the Bigods in the North Riding. So widespread were these connections, either by marriage or tenure, that nearly all the northern barons and knights were involved with each other, and therefore kinship groups or tenorial groups cannot be shown to motivate political alliances.

The three great families of Holderness were not merely local squires. They were on their widespread lands agricultural improvers, owners of flocks of sheep and horses, benefactors and patrons of monasteries, the founders of religious houses and sometimes of boroughs (155). Their interests often took them abroad, most often to France but also to Ireland or further away, to Palestine, where a Fauconberg was lord of Tiberias and a Ros died at the siege of Acre in 1190. All three families must have been often out of Holderness, but they seem to have retained a close interest in their Holderness lands, few though they might be. The St Quintins lavished money on Brandesburton church: the Fauconbergs continued to be buried in



poor, out of the way, unfashionable Nunkeeling: and the Ros family negotiated fishing rights, to be enjoyed whenever they stayed in Holderness, and imported wine to Holderness via the Humber.

The counts of Aumale do not seem to have been overawed by their mighty tenants, but continually repressed them and kept them down. No-one except the counts and the highly privileged Fulk de Oyry seems to have had the right to hunt in Holderness during the time of the counts, and the count's men arrogantly hunted through the Fauconbergs' park at Rise. It was difficult for William de Ros to exercise his privilege of *infangethef*, a privilege widely held in England by men of much less standing than a Ros, because of the count's interference. None of the three families made very sweeping claims of privilege to the Hundred Commissioners: Robert de Ros claimed at Ros gallows, and the assizes of bread and ale, and Walter de Fauconberg, John de Meaux and Ingelram de Monceaux claimed wreck and the assizes of bread and ale (a few years later Fauconberg had abandoned this claim) (156).

Fulk de Oyry's career, sketched above (157) is of a quite different type to the great tenants of the counts. Fulk too was a steward, as the first Ros had been, but by the time Fulk came to power, the tenurial pattern of Holderness was more static. The Fauconbergs, St Quintins and Ros family moved upwards by marriage and inheritance: Fulk's path was by loans and mortgages and favours shown him by king and count. In the end the older way proved more successful, for the baronies of Fauconberg, St Quintin and Ros lasted for centuries, whereas Fulk de Oyry's short-lived empire died with him.

### Subinfeudations and multiple tenancies

Perhaps because the knights' fees in Holderness were so large, no tenant of the counts held more than 1 fee (although the 48 carucates of one Holderness fee might easily have been counted as eight or even more fees elsewhere). The tenants in chief of the counts in their turn enfeoffed other men on their lands. The earliest examples of this are the short-lived enfeoffments of Osbert de Humbria, between 1100 and 1115: he was given lands in Keyingham by the count, and "from these lands Osbert gave three knights four carucates of land, to hold freely from himself, that is two [carucates] to Umfrid de Keyingham and one carucate to Bernar de Haburre in the marsh of Keyingham. And to Fulk de Roostona he gave that carucate of land [in Keyingham, which was afterwards given to Meaux abbey]" (158). After Osbert's death Stephen count of Aumale bought back Osbert's lands from the king (159) and all the gifts of land which Osbert or those who held from him had granted to anyone were quashed (160).

Subinfeudations continued in Holderness until the Statute of Quia Emptores, in 1290, restrained by no checks except the shortage of available lands. Many very small military tenancies were created, the smallest found being the four perches Robert Talun gave to Bridlington between 1160 and 1175 (161). Even small enfeoffments, like that of Robert de Scures to Gilbert the Cook of 2 bovates in Long Riston in the late 12th century could be made in the full panoply of feudal terminology "in campis et planis, in pratis et pasturis, cum quodamcrofto quod fuit Roce, in feodum et hereditatem et liberum servitium sibi et heredibus suis ad tenendum de me et heredibus meis..." (162). The 13th-century records include many such small enfeoffments.

Tenants of small military fees, such as the four perches quoted above, or the one bovat holding of William le Moigne in 1274-1276 (163) would not necessarily have any military skills or ambitions. They might well be too poor to have proper military equipment, and, if old or ill, too poor to hire a substitute. Military tenure became a burden, the consequences of which men paid to avoid. To counter the diminution of the royal army, kings legislated that all men who were of age were to be forced to become knights: such an order came to Holderness in 1227, that all who held of William count of Aumale by military service and were of full age should at Easter

"take arms and become knights" (164). The same order was issued in 1234 (165).

In many cases military tenants of Holderness held land outside the district as well as inside, thus making a web of tenancies and loyalties which could spread all over England. The counts of Aumale themselves held land of the archbishop of Rouen, of the archbishop of York and of the earls of Norfolk (166). The families of Fauconberg, St Quintin and Ros held lands all over England and for a while in Normandy. Tenants of lesser importance also held lands from neighbouring Yorkshire lords, from the Tisons, the Gants, the Constables of Flamborough or the Mowbrays (167). So it was not solely in Holderness that the knights' interests lay. Many of them also held lands on the south side of the Humber. The comparative ease of crossing the Humber (the counts owned the ferry between Paull and Barrow, and there were ferries between Barton on Humber and Hessle, and North and South Ferriby) and the number of inland waterways, made travelling in Lincolnshire, as far even as Boston where the monks of Meaux took their wool, much easier than journeys by road to the north and west (168). The Holderness tenants also had lands on the Continent up until 1204. The Fauconbergs, St Quintins, Areyns, Scures and other families all had continental possessions, less well documented than the English lands.

## Charters of enfeoffment

All the families of Holderness holding land from the Aumales by military service had at one time been enfeoffed by the count. Out of the dozens of charters of enfeoffment that must have been made by the counts' officials, only a handful have survived. Possibly the earliest enfeoffments after the Conquest were not recorded in writing: there is later evidence which shows that by the middle of the 12th century the ceremony was the important part of the enfeoffment, not the charter. "It is highly probable that the earliest grants ... were usually made without any written record by a lord in the presence of his leading tenants. In the last resort, the charter of enfeoffment was only a substitute for the memory of the peers of a fee" (169). When William le Gros acquired the site of Meaux abbey in 1150, the exchange was made, by the symbol of a knife, "some days before" the exchange was confirmed in a written deed (170). In a 12th-century grant to the nuns of Nun Cotham from the Lincolnshire Aumale fee, the "alms" were offered on the altar at Cotham and the charter made and confirmed at Lincoln, and a similar gift to Nunkeeling was offered on the altar at the house of the nuns (171). A 12th-century agreement about the church of Skeckling in Holderness was made in a house at Swine, and confirmed in Mappleton church before the chapter of Holderness (172).

The survival rate of charters granted to laymen was very much lower than that of similar documents granted to religious houses. It is not therefore surprising that so few enfeoffment charters have survived, but rather that any have survived. The process of subinfeudation took place in the main in the Anglo-Norman period, from which few documents of any kind survive: the years between 1086 and 1154 produce little evidence of any of the internal affairs of Holderness.

No enfeoffment charter of Count Stephen survives, although when he confirmed Boynton church to Bridlington priory 1120-c.1127, he mentioned that he had given the land of Boynton to Alan de Monceaux previously. No details of this grant are recorded in the charter (173). It is also recorded that Count Stephen granted Osbert de Humbria land in Keyingham, a grant subsequently quashed (174).

Nine of William le Gros's charters of enfeoffment have survived (175). William le Gros's son-in-law William de Mandeville left one small enfeoffment in Holderness on record (176). Hawisa made two enfeoffments, both to members of the household, one being her chamberlain and one her nurse (177). William de Forz II, Hawisa's son, made a grant of a small amount of land for a marriage settlement on his sister-in-law (178), and



William de Forz III enfeoffed one of his officials with land from his Skipton fee (179).

It will be readily seen that the bulk of the enfeoffments, or at least the recorded enfeoffments, lay in the time of William le Gros. This is in line with the accepted pattern of enfeoffment in England generally, that most knights' fees had been created by the death of Henry II, if not by his accession.

The terminology of the enfeoffment charters is so imprecise, and there is so much variation in every part of the recorded process, that it emphatically reinforces Sir Frank Stenton's view that "the typical knight's fee is as elusive a conception as the typical barony" (180).

The one factor common to all the charters - what by definition made them enfeoffments - should be the occurrence of the phrase "in feodo et hereditate", in fee and inheritance. Nevertheless 12th-century clerks did not invariably obey the rules, and as late as 1179-1189 William de Mandeville could grant land in Holderness to his chamberlain to hold by military service without using this phrase (181).

The actual property conveyed by the enfeoffment was not invariably land. William le Gros's enfeoffments included "all the land not previously granted from the demesne in Skeffling, three rustics and a mill" as part of a knight's fee: a remarkable document leaving many ambiguities for future disputes (182). He gave yearly rents "in fee and inheritance until he should substitute land" (183). In typically vague charters he enfeoffed his man Morwan with "all the land of Nuthill and its appurtenances outside the park", Hubert son of Simon with "all the land of Sciddinghow and Gusford and their appurtenances" and Robert de Octon with "all the land of Holmpton" (184). One of le Gros's charters recorded an exchange for a fief elsewhere, to enable the count to found an abbey at Meaux (185). A feoffment at Ulrome put a son in the lands lately held by his father (186).

The most precise of le Gros's enfeoffment charters is that to Thomas son of Vuieht, of Bonwick "where there are 6 carucates of land" (187). Two charters to falconers specify the amount of land conveyed, being 2 carucates and 1 carucate respectively, but give no description of the land, which seems surprising as the grants were only for part of the whole vill: obviously in such cases the implementation of the grant depended on local knowledge (188).

Hawisa's two grants are more analogous to serjeanties than enfeoffments, but she uses the phrases of enfeoffment in granting her chamberlain "all the fee of my chamber", and when she made a grant of a small piece of land to her nurse, it was burdened with a military service, castle guard (189).

The two enfeoffments made by William de Forz II and his son both convey land in as vague terms as their forebears did: "11 bovates of my demesne at Elstronwick" and "all the land of Bradley that Ralph de Mitton gave me" (190).

By the late 13th century much of the vagueness of the earlier charters had disappeared, and had been replaced by elaborate descriptions of small pieces of land, bovaté by bovaté, but by this time the age of enfeoffment was long over.

In all the foregoing charters there is not one that corresponds to the traditional prototype of the charter of enfeoffment. The services expected of the recipient are equally unpredictable, for sometimes they are out of all proportion to the value of the gift, and sometimes they are not mentioned at all. Three of the enfeoffments mentioned castle ward, and castle ward only, as the service due. Property in Skeffling returned "the service of a 6th part of 1 knight to the ward of the castle of Skipsea at the service of the king" (191). A grant of land outside Hedon to the count's man and a grant to the countess's nurse rendered 12d. and 6d. respectively for the ward of Skipsea castle (192).

Examples of indefinite service are two charters of William le Gros, one to a man "to hold for his free service" and the other (in an exchange) "to hold for the service he did for Meaux" (193). One grant of three carucates, made 1150-1170, was held for 30s. yearly for all customs: but one hundred years later it was held by military service (194). In two charters, which should perhaps not be considered enfeoffments, the charter of le Gros awarding rents in Hedon and the charter of le Gros to his brother-in-law, no services are mentioned (195).

Two enfeoffments were made by le Gros, both for the service of half a knight. In the first of these, the amount of land is not described (196). The other charter, however, drawn up prior to 1153, enfeoffs a man with 6 carucates at Bonwick in Holderness for the service of half a knight (197): the unusual feature being that on all recorded occasions in Holderness 48 carucates made the fee of 1 knight on the count's land, and therefore the 6 carucates should only be worth 1/8 of a knight's fee, and at half a fee were very heavily rated. This service supports the view that every early enfeoffment was a bargain between count and man, and the count took what service he could get. In most of Yorkshire, 6 carucates would be a fair grant to support half the service of a knight.

The two grants to the falconers are similar to serjeanties: "by service of my falcons, that he and another with 3 horses shall be in my court at his livery"; "the service of serving me with my birds for my lifetime"; in the latter case, after the count's death the fief would

revert to be held by the ancient service that belonged to the land (198). From the later evidence of Kirkby's Quest it appears that the service was military service (199).

William de Mandeville's one enfeoffment of 20 acres was for the service of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a fee, where 48 carucates made a fee: this shows that as late as 1179-1189, when this charter was made, that the service due could still be the subject of a bargain, although the size of the Holderness fee was established and actually stated in the same charter (200).  $\frac{1}{6}$  of a fee ( $\frac{1}{3}$  of  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) should be borne by 8 carucates: but by contemporary records 20 acres would be very much less land than 8 carucates, which would be the whole assessment of a sizeable vill.

It has been suggested above that the carucate was an artificial value unit placed on the land before the Conquest, but retained for hundreds of years thereafter. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that on occasion land surveyors endeavoured to equate carucates and bovates with a certain number of acres. For instance, in Eske in Holderness at the end of the 13th century, each bovat of land contained 17 acres of arable, 9 acres of mowable meadow and 30 acres and 3 perches of pastures; a total of 56 acres 3 perches, and even if the most restricted view of the arable alone is taken, 17 acres (201). There were 12 bovates in each carucate: so the Eske carucate was 204 acres or possibly considerably more, 672 acres and some perches (202). It is also recorded that in Tharlesthorpe, at the end of the 12th century, there were 500 acres in 16 bovates of land. This was the archbishop's land, as was Eske, where 12 bovates made 1 carucate: so here each carucate contained 375 acres. Between 1160 and 1172 Meaux abbey was given  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate in Beeford, but it was short by 6 acres (203). These attempts to equate acreages and bovates and carucates made the enfeoffment of 20 acres as  $\frac{1}{6}$  of a knight's fee a very heavy assessment indeed.

The last of the recorded enfeoffments of the counts, that of William de Forz II, is for the forinsec service "as much as belongs to so much land of the fee" (although the precise amount of land is unspecified (204). This is typical of many mid 13th-century and earlier charters, in that it leaves the service to be assessed by local custom, or, if that is disputed, probably by a local jury.

This attempt to examine in some detail the surviving charters of enfeoffment of the count of Aumale merely illustrates the lack of uniformity and discernible pattern in the process of enfeoffment. It is now proposed to examine the services due from land held by military service throughout Holderness generally.

Obligations of military tenureService in the field

The counts of Aumale took part in nearly all the major campaigns of their lifetimes, from Ireland, Wales and France to the Crusades. Fighting was one of their major preoccupations, together with hunting, as it was for most of their contemporaries of similar rank. They also cultivated their estates, draining and improving land, raised great flocks of sheep, and founded and protected religious houses and boroughs, but these were of secondary importance. Unless incapacitated by old age or illness, the counts followed their kings to war, while administration of their estates was left to the officers of the household (205). Two of the counts, William de Forz I and Baldwin de Bethune, were professional soldiers and by their military skills won themselves the king's favour and rich marriages.

The part played by the counts' knights in military campaigns is often more difficult to discern, as the knights are not usually mentioned by the chroniclers who describe the counts' part in the wars, and it is only incidental references in administrative documents that reveal the presence of the knights. However, the counts must always have been accompanied by a small group of knights, moving anonymously across England, Europe and the Middle East.

Count Odo and Count Stephen fought campaigns in Normandy and in England, aligning themselves with first William Rufus and then with Robert Curthose, and finally breaking into rebellion to promote their own claims to the throne. The aftermath of the rebellion found Odo in prison and Count Stephen on his way to Palestine, through Italy by way of Lucca, Rome, Monte Cassino and Calabria to Antioch (206). At the opening of Henry I's reign, Count Stephen fought in many campaigns in Normandy, for both Robert Curthose and the king of England, until his death before 1130.

Count Stephen's son, William le Gros, was equally bellicose, and fought in Yorkshire and elsewhere in England during the troubles of Stephen's reign. His military career began at the Battle of the Standard (1138) where the chronicler records that many of his knights and squires



accompanied him (207), and he fought at Lincoln in 1141 and elsewhere in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire against the earl of Chester and Gilbert de Gant, always on Stephen's side. Towards the end of his life, in 1173, William le Gros's castle of Aumale was captured by the counts of Flanders and Boulogne for the king of France: William himself was captured, with many of his knights and serjeants, and was forced to ransom himself (208). Whether his knights and serjeants were also ransomed is not recorded. The previous year William le Gros had paid scutage instead of going on the Irish campaign (209), and after his unpleasant experience at Aumale he does not seem to have gone campaigning again. As early as 1150 his corpulence was supposed to prevent him riding a horse, so that his usefulness in the field must have been limited.

William le Gros's daughter and heiress, Hawisa, was married in turn to three soldiers, firstly William de Mandeville who was a loyal friend to Henry II and was constantly with the king in the field until Henry's death (except for 1177-1178, before he married Hawisa, when he went on crusade); and secondly William de Forz, who also spent much of his time on overseas campaigns. In 1190 he was one of five men in charge of Richard I's fleets, which he sailed by way of Portugal (he had a squadron of 33 large ships at the mouth of the Tagus), Marseilles and Messina to Palestine. After his return to England in 1192 he was employed in Normandy, with mercenaries, in 1193-1194 and 1195 (210).

Hawisa's third and last husband, Baldwin de Béthune, was also constantly involved in army service, and indeed it was probably the military qualities of William de Forz and Baldwin that brought them to King Richard's notice and enabled them to be granted the marriage of a great heiress. He served in the 2nd and 3rd Norman armies of 1196, and also in 1199, 1201, 1206 and 1209, and together with his knights went to Ireland in 1210 with King John (211). It is during Baldwin de Béthune's tenure of Holderness that for the first time some of the count's knights who served in the field are named. Fulk de Oyry was overseas in the service of the count in 1199 and with Lambert de Oyry was in Ireland in 1210 and was in Poitou in 1214 (212). John de Lascelles, whose family held  $\frac{1}{4}$  knight's fee from the count (in addition to land from the provost of Beverley minster) in Ottringham, North Frodingham, Coniston and Seaton in Holderness, and Killingholme in Lincolnshire, was in the king's service per the count of Aumale in 1202 and possibly in 1199 also (213). In 1205-1206 one of the St Quintin family, Walter de Fauconberg and Robert de Ros, all tenants of the count, were overseas in the king's service (214); although in the cases of all three they held

many lands beside those in Holderness which made them liable to military service. In 1210, on the Irish expedition, as well as Fulk and Lambert de Oyry, those of the count's military tenants who went included John and Herbert de St Quintin, Walter de Ver, Ralf Gernun, Robert de Ros and his steward and Eborard de Beiver. All these men were lent money by the government, either at Carrickfergus or Dublin (215).

In February 1214 King John crossed to Poitou for the last time, in a hopeless attempt to save his crumbling continental empire. This is the only occasion on which the actual operation of the military service of the count's knights can be clearly seen. In March 1214 Countess Hawisa died, and there was a brief interregnum before her son William de Forz II was allowed to take possession of his English lands and rights as count in the autumn of the same year. So there was no count of Aumale during the months in which the Poitevin campaign was waged, and perhaps it is because of this that more details than usual are available about the military service of the knights.

As early as Henry II's reign the government had accepted the principle that for some campaigns, only part of the servitium debitum was required (216). How then did the honour or tenant in chief decide which knights were to serve? Among the knights of Ramsey abbey, the 4 out of 16 or 19 knights who were to serve were elected or assigned in rotation by all the knights and freeholders assembled in the honour court of Broughton to serve for their companions. The expenses of the chosen four were paid throughout the 40 days of feudal service at a rate which varied at the discretion of the court: in 1257 it was 4s. a day, each hide of the honour contributing 2s. This system of election goes back at least to the early 13th century (217).

At St Albans the assignment of service took place in much the same manner. At a famous meeting under the ash tree in the abbey courtyard in 1257, the custom of the abbey was declared, which was that on receipt of the royal summons to serve in the army, all the immediate military tenants of the abbot should assemble and elect men from the fees to perform the service required, each fee contributing 6 marks (the serving knights also to add their own 6 marks) (218).

A similar system prevailed in Holderness. Probably the military tenants met in the honour court, although in Holderness this is a court of which very little is known (219), or in the wapentake court of Holderness, to which all the military tenants owed service. In a lay honour, it might be supposed that either the constable or the marshal would take a leading part in the military arrangements, but although these officials existed in Holderness, there is no indication that they were

involved in 1214, and the only official associated with the knights who went to Poitou was the ubiquitous Fulk de Oiry (220).

In the last months of Countess Hawisa's life, in January or February 1214 (the countess died in March) the military tenants of Holderness, at least 24 of them in the Yorkshire lands, assembled and chose Andrew de Fauconberg, Thomas de Coleville, Robert de Fribois and Hugh le Vavasour to serve for them in Poitou. The agreement was the subject of a fine, and it was agreed between the military tenants that the knights should have 3s. a day each while they were serving (221).

The knights probably left England with the king in February 1214, for at the very end of February Thomas de Coleville was granted simple letters of protection (222). By 8 March the countess was dead, and all the profits of the honour were kept in the Temple in London, the land being in the custody of Fulk de Oiry, and the only payments made from the Temple were to be for provisions ("estovers") of the knights of the countess's land who were in the king's service in Poitou (223).

The chosen representatives of the honour of Aumale may not all have come from Holderness, for although the phrase used by Fauconberg was that the men went "for the community of Holderness", loans were made to the same four men in Poitou "as of the honour of Aumale" (224). Andrew de Fauconberg was certainly the representative of the Holderness fees in Yorkshire, for he subsequently sued the men of Holderness for non-payment of his expenses: but Thomas de Coleville was likely to be the representative of the Lincolnshire fees of the honour, and possibly Robert de Fribois also (225).

On Andrew de Fauconberg's return from Poitou, he found that the knights of Holderness refused to pay his expenses, and long afterwards he sued 24 men in the curia regis for a total of £15 11s. 8d. due to himself for his service, about 104 days' subsistence at his rate of 3s. a day (226). None of the men denied liability, except one who had the land and wardship of the heir of the man owing the debt, and the guardian said that he himself owed no debt, Andrew had never crossed the sea for him, and besides he produced no suit nor charter, nor sufficient proof of the debt: this plea succeeded (227). This plea incidentally shows that it was not scutage that Andrew was endeavouring to collect, for which the guardian would certainly have been liable, but a personal agreement over expenses.

104 days was a great deal longer than the 40 days normally expected of the king's vassals. Was the explanation that having summoned only  $1/5$  of the service due (4 out of the 20 knights of the servitium debitum), the king asked the 4 knights to serve much longer?(228). In any event, when Andrew de Fauconberg had completed his service on behalf of the knights of Holderness, many, perhaps all, of the knights refused to contribute. This was part of the general northern discontent at the end of John's reign. Refusal to serve overseas or pay scutage for Poitou in 1214 was the "quintessential deed" of the Northerners and marked out the hard core rebels from other men who joined the barons later in forcing the Great Charter on John. The knights of Holderness must have been well aware of the attitude of other northern barons and knights, and where they could choose, the knights of England were against rather than for the king (229). There had already been widespread resistance to the Poitevin scutage before John sailed for the continent: after Bouvines the opposition was strengthened, and when the day of reckoning came, on 9 September 1214, when the sheriffs and barons had to account for their scutage collected or quitted by service, there were widespread demonstrations against the accounting, and no account was possible for Yorkshire (230). In the event the Poitevin scutage was not accounted for, and does not appear on the pipe roll, until the 1220s, and it was not until 1229, fifteen years after the campaign, that Andrew de Fauconberg brought his action against those of his colleagues who had not paid their shares in his expenses.

Long after the Poitevin campaign was over, and King John was dead, the count of Aumale was charged with scutage for the last expedition to Poitou. However he was able to prove to the satisfaction of the king and council that he had sent the service of 20 knights to Poitou, and so his debt for the scutage was cancelled (231). During John's reign tenants frequently served with only part of their servitium debitum, and this was regarded as full service. Evidently the king would accept a reduced service from Holderness, even in the absence of a count to strike a bargain with him, and was prepared to allow four to serve for twenty knights, possibly because of the long period of service that was expected. In 1229-1230 also, for the army collected for Brittany, the count of Aumale served with four knights of his servitium debitum (232).



The expedition to Poitou was not long over when rebellion ran through England in the months leading up to the Great Charter. William de Forz II joined the northern rebels in May-June 1215 and changed sides quickly and often. Many of his tenants were also in rebellion, but it is likely that the older men among the Northerners led William into rebellion, rather than the other way round. One of William's greatest tenants, Robert de Ros, must have had a great influence on the young count, who was between 20 and 25 in 1215: Robert de Ros, on the other hand, was at least 46, and was a man of great experience in administration and government. He held lands of the count of Aumale, but was also a tenant-in-chief in his own right, holding the barony of Wark in Northumberland, the barony of Helmsley in the North Riding, and part of the estates of the Trussebutts in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, elsewhere in England and in Normandy. He was also the son-in-law of the king of Scotland. The same man had taken much trouble to bring the young count to the king in 1214, had opened the negotiations which brought William de Forz to his English inheritance, and had been present when the knights and freemen of the Aumale lands paid homage to their new count (233). If such a man counselled rebellion, William would be likely to listen.

Another man in rebellion in 1215 was Fulk de Oyry, the late countess's steward and the chief administrator of the Aumales. He too had been present at the homage taking, and had kept the lands of the honour between the death of the countess and the arrival of the young heir. He was a tenant of the count, but his influence over the count must have been great. In his own lands in Holland in Lincolnshire, Fulk de Oyry was a member of the rebel group of the "Hoylandenses", several of whom were also tenants of the count (234).

Other tenants of the count who joined the rebellion were numerous. The long lists of the reversi in the close rolls include Saer de Sutton, John and Peter de Meaux, William de Areyns, William de Routh, Eborard de Whitik, Geoffrey and Robert de Fribois, Thomas de Dringhoe, Peter de Fauconberg and Herbert and John de St Quintin, Robert Constable, Gerard Salvein, Robert de Monceaux, Thobald Hautein, Robert, Roger and Thomas de Lascelles and William de Rocheford. All of these were Holderness tenants, either knights or holding by military service. From the Aumale Lincolnshire lands there were in the rebellion Peter and Elias de Amundeville, Simon and Philip de Kyme, Peter de Campania, Nicholas de Chavincurt, Jordan Foliot, William de Coleville and Elias de Areyns. There were also among the lists of rebels tenants of the Skipton fee,

Adam de Staveley, Roger de Montbegon and Mauger and Robert le Vavasour (235). Some of the Holderness knights may have been in the rebel group in arms at Beverley, with which King John was negotiating in February 1216 (236). To offset this very long list of rebels, the only one of the count's tenants who was apparently loyal to the king throughout the rebellion was Walter de Killingholme (237).

It is not intended to suggest that it was their dependence upon the count that took these men into rebellion. Many of the count's tenants also held of other tenants in chief, and although the ties of lordship and in some cases kinship were strong, there were also many opportunities in the confused times of 1214-1215 for independent action. William de Forz II was one of the 25 barons of the charter: but in a very short time he had rejoined the king, and was then granted the lands of such obdurate rebels as Robert de Ros, Fulk de Ory and Simon de Kyme (238) with whom he had so recently been associated. Obviously the ties of loyalty were not strong enough either to keep William de Forz with his tenants, or to bring them back to the king when the count's allegiance changed. In the count's own rebellion in 1221, perhaps his tenants remembered his inconstancy in 1215.

After the disturbances leading to the Great Charter, the next war in which the count was involved was the war of Bytham, in which he himself was in rebellion against the king: a war for which he was subsequently charged scutage. William must have been supported by a number of men, for he attacked three castles and captured one, and plundered widely and took prisoners. Some of his knights and serjeants were captured, and seven carts were used to take the prisoners to the Tower of London after the siege of Bytham was concluded (239). But only one of William de Forz's great military tenants supported him, Peter de Fauconberg his brother-in-law, and even this support was doubtful (240). The list of those who helped the count, and were subsequently captured, is a list of names unknown in Holderness or elsewhere in the count's lands. They are Geoffrey Wind, the "man" of the count (who had also been a rebel in 1216) (241), Richard Suard or Siward (242), William de Bueles, at one time constable of Tickhill (243) and Vassal de Fuillis (244). None of these men are known to have an English connection with the count: perhaps their affiliations came from the continental origins of the Forz family, for William de Bueles at least came from the Isle of Oléron, with which island the Forz family was associated (245).

The only exception to this anonymity of the co-rebels of the Bytham war is the name of Peter de Fauconberg, who about this time married the sister of William de Forz's countess. It is suggested but not confirmed in the close rolls that Peter joined the count at Bytham, and the order went out: "If it is agreed that Peter de Fauconberg is against us with William count of Aumale you shall give William Earl Ferrers custody of his lands in Lincolnshire" (246). Unlike 1214, when nearly all the count's knights were in rebellion, in 1221 William de Forz was on his own. Even the faithful Fulk de Ory could not support the count's cause at Bytham.

After Bytham, the next English war was the rebellion of Fawkes de Breauté in 1224 in which William de Forz played an ambiguous part. He went to the siege of Bedford, but the names of his knights are not known. This was the last English war until Simon de Montfort's rebellion in the time of the last count. During the 13th century it became more and more common for military service, which was for more than 30 years all in Wales or overseas, to be performed by only part of the servitium debitum. Throughout the remainder of the time of the counts, they served in all the campaigns personally, except in 1257 when the count was ill but sent his knights (247). In 1229 in Brittany the count was accompanied by four other knights, two of whom were the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire tenant Peter de Campania and John de Fermeria (248).

In 1241 William de Forz II concluded his restless career by setting out for Palestine, in fulfillment of a vow he had made long before (249). He was accompanied by his friends and knights, Peter de Maulay of Mulgrave, Ebelin de Rocheford, John Hansard, Alexander de Hilton, Geoffrey de Chandelers and many unnamed others (250).

One last and unexpected glimpse of the counts' knights, living with or near their lord, comes as it were from beyond the grave. Long after the death of the last count in 1260, the proof of age of his last surviving child was taken, c.1273. Among the witnesses to her age were John de Meaux who lived with the count when she was born, Stephen de Owstwick and Stephen de Hedon, John de Camerton, John de Fitling and Adam de St Martin, who all lived near Burstwick when she was born. All of these, except possibly Stephen de Hedon, were military tenants (251).

## Obligations of military tenure

### Forinsec service and scutage

In the performance of military service, there were two eras in the time of the counts of Aumale; the first century after the Conquest, when military service was a personal duty, performed by the tenant or his substitute, and the second century, from about 1166 to 1260, when the duty became more and more theoretical, gradually turning into a tax on land held by military tenure. This payment in lieu of service, or scutage, was also sometimes used in the early period, and conversely personal service was sometimes offered and accepted in the later period, so that the two eras of military service overlap in many cases. For the first period there is no evidence for the actual performance of military service by the knights of Holderness, and it can only be assumed from such phrases in charters as "doing service in the king's army" (252) that it was in fact done. Similarly there is no evidence for the early period as to how long the knights were expected to serve, or whether or not they could commute their service.

After the Anglo-Norman period, when evidence becomes more plentiful, it is clear that the duty of military service had become "territorialised", that is, rooted in the soil, for it was by c.1166 the land which owed the service rather than the knight (253). It was then possible to assess even the smallest piece of land, even down to as little as four perches (254) for military service, which would be rendered in money to provide soldiers for the king (255). Exactly when this transition took place is not clear. Before the Conquest the principle of "carucates for geld" was already established (256) and it was logical to extend the same principle to the new kind of service brought by the Normans, and similarly attach the service to the land. Two administrative innovations must have taken place in Holderness some time in the 12th century; firstly the knight's fee, by 1189 at the latest (257) must have been standardised at 48 carucates, and then each part of land in the fee assessed as a fraction of those 48 carucates. There is some evidence to suggest that only arable land was assessed, and that the tofts attached to arable did not pay scutage (258).

The services which burdened land held by military tenure came to be divided into two levels of service: immediate service due to the man's immediate overlord, from whom he held, and a more remote service, due to the chief lords of the land, who might be several in number, but always



culminating (in England) in the king, the supreme overlord. These more remote services were known as foreign or forinsec services. They are the most frequently mentioned services in late 12th- and 13th-century charters, but are rarely defined, perhaps because a man could not be sure how many forinsec services should be claimed for a piece of land (259).

In Holderness the forinsec service was generally considered to be due to the king and the count, and is described in such phrases as in the 12th century "the forinsec service of the king and the count" (260), "the forinsec service of the king and count which runs through the whole wapentake" (261) or in the 13th century "free forinsec service when it happens" (262). Sometimes forinsec service was mentioned as due to the tenants holding from the count as well as the count and king, a step further down the feudal ladder (263). Very often, especially in grants to a religious house, land was quit of all service except forinsec, for a donor could grant land free of all services due to himself, but could not so easily obtain the exemption of services due to his lords (264). Between 1143 and 1154 Agnes de Arches granted the nuns of Killing  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate of land at Nunkeeling, for which she would do the service until she had persuaded the count of Aumale to acquit the service and aids due from it (265). She must have partially succeeded in persuading him, for when he confirmed the land to the nuns the count quitclaimed to Agnes's stepson all service due from the land except service in the king's army and Danegeld (266).

In 1188 Robert Constable of Halsham gave the monks of Meaux his demesne land at Tharlesthorpe, to hold by the forinsec service of 5 bovates where 8 carucates made a fee (267). At about the same date Walter le Nair gave the nuns of Swine 2 bovates with a toft in Skirlington, to hold doing the forinsec service for 2 bovates where 48 carucates made a fee (268). As neither the nuns of Swine nor the monks of Meaux (both of the Cistercian order) could perform military service, the "forinsec service" of these charters must have been commuted to a money payment, even at this date.

It was possible to give up part of land to avoid service on the rest, and between 1160 and 1182 the monks of Meaux gave back to the donor two tofts of land in order that he might do the forinsec service on two bovates held by knight service (269). In the same period a man found the service exacted by the Templars for his land in Holderness so burdensome that he gave up half his fee (six carucates) so that he could hold the remaining six carucates free of all service (270). At this period apparently services

of all kinds for land held by military tenure were still capable of alteration, and the services were not immutably fixed in the soil: by the later 13th century such bargains would not have been possible.

It is rare for forinsec service to be defined: once only it is said to include suit of court (271) and once to include aids (272). Possibly it included Danegeld until it was abolished, relief, castle ward and sheriff's aid. Most of the definitions in 12th- and 13th-century charters however imply scutage. One of the earliest Holderness grants, made c.1135-1143, frees land at Oubrough of all services save the king's service common to all Yorkshire (273). Land given to Nunkeeling in the 12th century owed service in the king's army and Danegeld (274). In the mid 13th century land was given to Nunkeeling for a rent of a silver penny at Christmas for all service, save forinsec service "scilicet scutagio" (275). A few years later a grant of Holderness property burdened the land with "the king's scutage, when it occurs, so much as belongs to 5 bovates of land" (276). A similar phrase which implies scutage is "free foreign service at the king's command when it falls due" (277). In 1228 however a distinction was made in a confirmation to Bridlington of land in Skirlington: the confirmer warranted the land against the count of Aumale and all others, both from foreign service and from scutage and all other things which might occur (278). Scutage was defined in the 12th century in the Dialogus de Scaccario thus:

It sometimes happens that when enemies threaten or attack the kingdom, the king decrees that a payment shall be made, say a mark or a pound from every knight's fee, to provide payment or rewards for soldiers. For the prince prefers to expose mercenaries to the hazards of war, rather than his own people. This sum, being paid according to the number of shields [of the knights] is called scutage.

(279)

Some idea of the cost of forinsec services in the early 13th century can be gained from the Meaux chronicle. Between 1210 and 1220 the monks bought 2 bovates of land in Routh, paying the St Quintin family 5s. yearly for the land: but the monks could deduct the forinsec service from the 5s. before paying it. If in any year the forinsec service exceeded 5s. they could deduct the surplus from future years' rents (280). At the same time they were given another bovat for which the monks paid 12d. a year and the forinsec service: this suggests that the forinsec service at this time may have been calculated to average about 2s. a year per bovat.

Between 1273 and 1275 a survey of Holderness shows that the knights' fees there at that time all owed forinsec service. The survey ends with a memorandum about scutage. . On the *Mumale* lands there were 384 bovates in each whole knight's fee. Each bovat<sup>e</sup> gave  $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. for a royal scutage of 40s. on the fee, when it should happen, and also owed relief, and a white farm of sheriff's aid and castle ward. The archbishop's land in Holderness contained 96 bovates in each knight's fee, and each bovat<sup>e</sup> paid 5d. to a royal scutage of 40s. on a fee and also owed relief (281). In both the count's and the archbishop's lands if the number of bovates is multiplied by the amount of scutage due per bovat<sup>e</sup>, the sum realised comes to 40s. exactly. By the time of this survey, scutage had become another tax, as artificial as the carucate assessments of Domesday Book.

The obligations of the military tenant, apart from the military service itself, were in the words of a 13th-century charter "homage, wards reliefs and also castle guard, sheriff's aid, scutage, suit of court and all other services" (282). Another charter adds to the list eschaets (283). In addition to the feudal obligations of the tenants, there were certain customary aids which were payments towards making the eldest son of the lord a knight, or towards the marriage of his eldest daughter (284). There is little evidence to show these aids being collected in Holderness. All the military tenants of Holderness owed suit of court to the wapentake court, which usually met at Hedon every three weeks (285). Of the "feudal incidents" as they came to be called, the most interesting is castle guard.

## Obligations of military tenure

### Castle guard

Drogo de la Beuvrière is credited with the building of Skipsea castle, where there remain the massive earthworks of a motte and bailey castle (286). Skipsea seems to have fallen into disuse by c.1200, and been superseded as the administrative centre of Holderness by Burstwick, so much more accessible from Normandy, York and Lincolnshire and the south. The demolition of Skipsea was ordered in 1221 by the king, on the occasion of William de Forz II's abortive rebellion over Bytham. Nevertheless, because of its early importance, it was to Skipsea that castle guard, or castle ward as it was also called, was due from lands held by military service in Holderness and also in Lindsey in North Lincolnshire (287).

Castle guard was one of the most fundamental obligations of military tenure in England (288). It was of great importance in the first years after the Conquest, and was a more continuous burden than service in the field. As a coastal castle looking towards Scandinavia, and defending the northern boundary of Holderness, the only part not separated from the rest of the county by a river, Skipsea was of great strategic value until the danger of Scandinavian invasion was past. It is perhaps for this reason that castle ward to Skipsea seems to have been considered in the 12th century as a duty owed to the king, although there is never any suggestion in the archives that it was a royal castle. Kings were apt to regard all castles in a sense as their own, and the duty of castle guard, like service in the royal army, although due to the lord, was to be done for the king (289).

Between 1165 and 1179 Count William le Gros granted one of his men some Holderness land, to hold for the service of a sixth part of a knight "ad custodiam castelli de Skipse ad servitium regis" (290). No other military service was mentioned. In other parts of England, on the Welsh and Scottish frontiers, there are some other examples of knights who owed military service in castles only: was this a characteristic of frontier fiefs (291)? If it was indeed so in the early period, by the 13th century no Holderness knight owed castle service only, but always owed knight service too. By the end of the 13th century, when castle guard had become a money rent on all military land, the castle guard was called a "white farm" and coupled with sheriff's aid, implying that it was not owed to the count but to some more remote authority; it was also associated with forinsec rents (292). The money in the 13th century was however collected by the count's officers (the sub-bailiffs),



and valued among the count's possessions (293). Castle guard to Skipsea was not an obligation of the archbishop's military tenants in Holderness.

Of the actual operation of castle guard at Skipsea there is no evidence. The system of castle guard established at the time of the Conquest became obsolete even sooner than did service in the feudal host (294). It was early commuted for money, perhaps as early as the reign of Henry I, once the initial danger of Viking invasions and Anglo-Saxon revolts receded. By the time of Henry II it was common for such service to be commuted. A passage in Magna Carta which reads "no constable shall distrain any knight to give money for castle guard if he wishes to perform his tour of duty" (295) suggests that John had tried to force commutation of service in royal castles.

During the late 12th and 13th centuries there are occasional references to castle guard at Skipsea, always represented in money terms. William le Gros enfeoffed his man Alan son of Hubert with land outside Hedon burdened with a rent of 12d. a year paid at Michaelmas for ward of the castle of Skipsea (296). Countess Hawisa, c.1191-1192, gave her nurse 4 bovates of land at Preston, with a payment of 6d. for castle ward of Skipsea (297). Fulk de Oyry, Hawisa's steward, was freed by her of castle ward (298). Other 13th-century examples are the 2d. owed to the lord of Skipsea castle for land at Wawne and the 2s. owed by the manor of Skirlington for castle ward (299).

In 1260 castle ward was associated with the forinsec rents of Holderness, and was valued conservatively at 40s.: in practice about 60s. was actually collected (300). A list of payments made for the castle ward of Skipsea in 1268-1269 names 13 people who paid sums ranging from 2½d. to 4s. (301). The larger sum was paid by Walter de Fauconberg, who held one knight's fee in Holderness: 2s. were paid by Ingelram de Monceaux, who held approximately ½ fee, and 4s. 6d. by two members of the Ros family, who held one fee. It looks as if an approximate sum of 4s. a fee annually was being paid for castle ward at this time, and this agrees with the 1260 valuation of 40s. for the 10 fees of Holderness. The lands in Lindsey paid 20s. per year to castle ward (302), perhaps representing five North Lincolnshire fees around Barrow, Goxhill and Thornton.

By the 1270s the obligation to pay castle ward had been imposed on every

bovate of the count's fee (in the same way as knight service had been imposed) and was assessed at a rate of  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a bovate, or 8s. a fee. The discrepancies between these various rates of assessment remain unresolved; the figures may be compared with the  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark a year for which castle guard at Richmond was commuted, paid from each fee, and also the daily rate of a knight hired for castle duty, which seems to have remained a constant 8d. a day from 1130 to at least the time of Henry II(303). It seems as if the payments in commutation had by the end of the 13th century fallen far below the actual cost of garrisoning the castle with substitute knights: at the 12th-century figure of 8d. a day, 40s., 60s. or even 80s. for the castle guard of Holderness would only provide a garrison for a few days. The rate of commutation did not suffice to replace the service and the cost of a knight rose rather than fell as time passed (304).

## Obligations of military tenure

### Homage and fealty

In the list of military obligations quoted above "homage, wards, reliefs and also castle guard, sheriff's aid, scutage, suit of court and all other services" (305), the conjunctions "et etiam" were not used at random but divided off one group of feudal obligations from the others. "Homage, wardships and relief belonged to a man from his tenants in the name of lordship" (306).

Homage was due from any vassal to his suzerain. A man would always do homage to the count when he inherited or was given land; so that in 1218 when John de Fribois inherited his father's land he did homage for it at Easter before the count, and John's tenants thereafter did homage to him (307). Following a grant of land for homage and service, the former servant of Hugh de Skeffling issued a notification that he had duly performed homage to Sir William Constable for the land (308). Sometimes at the end of a court case a man would immediately do homage for the land he had acquired (309), as this was a way of securing tenure. A tenant was also obliged to renew his homage when a new count took possession of his honour. In 1214 when William de Forz II received his inheritance, all his knights and free tenants were ordered by the king to be obedient to him in all that belonged to the count of Aumale and to do homage to him (saving the royal fealty) before two powerful Holderness tenants, Robert de Ros and Fulk de Ory (310).

One of the earliest Holderness charters to mention homage is a grant by a woman of 1 bovat with a house in Long Riston, to a man of the same surname for his homage and service (311). Homage to a woman is also mentioned in a fine about land in Fitling in 1208 (312): Glanvill allows that homage can be done to a woman but not by a woman (313). A 13th-century grant of land at Newton Constable quitclaims homage and service due to the grantor: by quitclaiming homage and service in this way, it was possible to strike out a link in the feudal chain (314). It was also possible for a tenant's homage and service to be granted by one man to another: so that A grants to B C's homage and service, in return for B doing homage and service to A - inserting another stage in the feudal pyramid (315). In the early 13th century a grant of 12 bovates to the parson of Withernewick was made for homage and service (316); evidently clerks and to some extent women could be involved in the feudal network of homage on the same terms as laymen. The abbot of Meaux did

homage to the lords of Holderness for all the land he held there (317), although some religious houses succeeded in altering their obligation from homage to the more indefinite fealty (318). It is not obvious that any benefit, apart from a certain moral advantage, accrued to a lord from his tenant's homage. However, it was a privilege the count was prepared to distrain for and to go to court to keep (319).

By the end of the 13th century the homage a man owed and received could be very fragmented. John de Halsham granted in 1299 24 different rents or services due from land to Hugh de Bawtry. 11 of the men holding these owed homage as well, the homages being transferred to Hugh, some from less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  bovate of land (320). Often the same man owed homage for such small pieces of land to many different lords; and it was because of this fragmentation and possible conflict of loyalty, that an additional over-riding tie between a man and his chief lord existed; this was liege homage, owed to the lord from whom a tenant held his principal fee.

Homage was a contract between lord and man, which was protected by law (321). In addition there was a less tangible tie, breach of which was not a legal but only a moral offence. This was fealty, which was owed by all Englishmen to the king, and was renewed in every reign (322). It was specifically reserved to King John when William de Forz II's tenants were ordered to pay homage to him in 1214 (323). The only people recorded as owing fealty to the count were the abbots or priors of monasteries: it seems that in the 13th century the church came to consider it unsuitable for their princes to pay homage to a layman. The abbot of Aumale paid not homage but fealty for all his lands in England, and had to renew his fealty to a new count: which he did in person (324). The prior of Bridlington made an agreement between 1250 and 1255 with the count of Aumale whereby he substituted fealty for homage previously done for lands in Skirlington. The count remitted the homage which he used to demand, and the prior and his successors promised to do fealty, relief, suit of court and other services (325). Meaux abbey however did not escape the need to pay homage for lands held of the lords of Holderness.



## Obligations of military tenure

### Relief

Relief was payable by all military tenants on their own entry into their tenancies. The continuing existence of relief underlines the contractual nature of military tenancies, and although from the early years after the Conquest hereditary tenure seems to have been the general rule, the payment on entry is an echo of the lord's right to enfeoff whomsoever he wished. It was a kind of death duty, and in the first period of the counts' lordship of Holderness (up to 1215) the lords of England took what they could get from their tenants, from the king down to the poorest holder of 1 bovat. Reliefs were supposed to be "reasonable" but it was not until Magna Carta that a "reasonable relief" was defined as £100 for a barony and 100s. for a knight's fee. After this definition, relief became a charge on land at so much a bovat, as did scutage and castle ward. By 1273-1275 in Holderness it had become 3d. on each bovat of the knight's fee on the count's lands, and 12½d. on each bovat of the knight's fee on the archbishop's land: £6 on each of the count's fees, and £5, the 100s. of Magna Carta, on the archbishop's fees. As the count himself paid a relief of £100, he made a profit of £20 each time relief was called for (326).

It was possible in the 12th century for relief to be quitclaimed permanently: before 1157 William le Gros granted Richard son of Seberin 1 carucate in Burton Pidsea and promised that the heirs of Richard should never pay relief for the land (327). Such a bargain would be impossible in the more rigid atmosphere of the late 13th century.

## Obligations of military tenure

### Wardship and marriage

If an heir was under age when his father died, the wardship and marriage of the heir went to the lord, so that theoretically the military services could continue to be provided from the heir's land. A defence to a claim to wardship was that the land was rented from year to year and not held by knight service — military tenure alone led to wardship, and socage, burgage and non-military serjeanty did not lead to wardship and marriage rights for the lord (328). No relief was payable on the heir's coming of age, possibly because it was expected that his guardian would take his profit from the ward's lands.

Many more lands must have passed into the counts' wardship than are recorded; it is usually only because a dispute has arisen, that the existence of the wardship is known. The whole honour of Holderness itself became a great wardship at the end of the 13th century, after the death of the last count, being placed in the hands of the Lord Edward, until the two dowager countesses Isabella and her mother Amice bought the lands. The wardship of the count himself is implied by the entries in the pipe roll for 1130: "William of Aumale accounts for 154 marks of silver for the pleas of his land of Holderness ... and owed 100 marks of silver that he may not plead against his own men about the land that his father held in demesne" (329); and the negotiations over the taking up of the inheritance of William de Forz II in 1214 may indicate that his lands were in the king's wardship (330). The marriage of the Countess Aveline was the subject of much manoeuvring in the 1270s; not as bitterly contested however, as Hawisa's three successive marriages in 1179, 1190 and 1195 (331).

The counts' rights in their tenants' wardships could be quitclaimed to another, particularly to a religious house, as when William de Forz II quitclaimed his right to the rent, service, wardship and relief for land in Lebberston in the North Riding, and the homage of the heir (332).

There was a great deal of trading in wardships in every level of society (333); and an interesting indenture of 1264 shows that wardship could be conveyed like real estate from one man to another. Walter de Fauconberg, lord of Rise, granted William de Monceaux in return for a yearly payment, all the land of John de Monceaux (except the dower) in East Hatfield, for 10 years. William de Monceaux had to find 4 sureties, one being the countess's official Bernard de Areyns, who could be distrained if the rent was not paid. There was also a penalty to be paid to the countess of Aumale if the agreement was not kept (334).

It was not uncommon for relatives to acquire wardships of young or unmarried members of the family. In the Amundeville family Alice daughter of Elias put herself in the wardship of Jollan de Amundeville after her father died: he proved a bad choice, for he took her land (335).

Many wardships were bought and sold, or given away, by the king and by his tenants in chief. In 1168-1169 Henry II gave the count of Aumale the custody of William Fossard, who was under age: William while a member of the count's household seduced the count's sister and fled abroad (336). One of the greater tenants of the count, Everard de Ros, was while a minor a ward of the justiciar Rannulf Glanville, then sheriff of Yorkshire, a wardship from which Glanville took great profit (337). Many of the great families of England clawed their way up the social scale by skilful manipulation of wardships and marriages - in Yorkshire the Ros family, the Maulays, the Fauconbergs, the St Quintins and the Aumales themselves all acquired widespread lands in this way.

In the archbishop's Holderness lands wardships and marriages were also bought and sold: a mother acquired the custody and marriage of her son from the archbishop until he was of age, holding lands in Frismarsh in the 1230s (338). The manor of Sir Alexander de Hilton in Swine was granted in 1242 to the archbishop's steward, and Hilton's lands in Winestead to the archbishop's nephew in 1245, until the coming of age of the heir (339). The princes of the church took as financial an interest in wardships and marriages as the laity; when two brothers of the Sutton family took away one of the bishop of Salisbury's wards (whom he had been given by the king) from Swine nunnery, the bishop was angry because he had lost her "value" of 200 marks. One of the brothers and the girl went to prison (340). The monks of Meaux too acquired the wardships and marriages of girls, and probably sent them to a nunnery to be brought up, as the bishop had done (341). On at least one occasion the monks sold the marriage of an heiress; "Abbot William sold the marriage of Marjory daughter of Thomas de Naventoft to Sir John de Carlton knight, whereby we lost almost all our right in the custody and wardship of her land in Cranswick" (342). When an heiress was married, but still under age, the monks leased the wardship for an annual rent to the heiress's father-in-law (343). In 1293 Robert de Hildyard who held land from Meaux by military service married, under age, against the wishes of the abbey. His land was confiscated until he paid the abbot the value of his marriage, which was £40 (344).

The plea rolls are full of cases arising from bad guardians, who often enfeoffed other men on the land they held in trust. William de Forz II lost the caput of his Lincolnshire lands in a similar way, as his mother's first husband granted the lands away to William de Coleville (345). On reaching his majority, the luckless heir could try to claim back his land, which might have been held for years by another. William de Marfleet lost his manor of Marfleet because Robert de Ros his guardian enfeoffed another man while William was under age: the case lasted for 18 years and it does not appear that William ever won the manor back. Such enfeoffments were not valid but were difficult to undo (346). Another heir had to take Meaux abbey to law to get back his lands, when he came of age (347).

Prospective wardships could be granted, as Robert de Fribois granted his son John in 1218, that if Peter de Lund or Walter de Hatfield (perhaps his two chief tenants) died and their heirs were in wardship with their marriages, John de Fribois could dispose of them (348). In a real emergency a man could sell his own son's marriage: Richard son of Thomas de Ottringham Marsh sold his son's marriage to the count's steward Fulk de Oyry with some land, for 30 marks, "towards my great enterprise", adding hopefully "*ita tamen quod non disparagiatur*" (349).

The case of Sir Alexander de Hilton's lands shows that an heir could be in several wardships (350). The son and heir of William de la Twyer was in 1268 in the wardship of the countess of Aumale, of Stephen de Thorpe and of Agnes his mother (351). The count's wards and their lands were in the keeping of the count's stewards as part of their duties, although an important ward such as Fossard would be a member of the count's household (352). At the death of the last count of Aumale, two wardships were valued among his possessions in Holderness, those of Geoffrey Berchaud and Amand de Routh (353).



In 1086 the position of the military tenants in Holderness was completely different from their position in 1260. In 1086 there were two military classes, the homines (equivalent to the 12th-century honorial barons) and the milites (soldiers and probably household knights). During the early period all the incidents of military tenure, even the amount and type of service to be performed, were open to bargains made between lord and man: there was no standard size of fee, and no fixed limitations on the service of a knight or on such payments as relief.

Towards 1200 there was a tendency to crystallise the obligations of the military tenant. The honorial barons disappeared and became knights, possibly joined by some of the soldiers of the earlier age. Many more enfeoffments took place. The ranks of society became more static. Many small military tenancies were created, and men holding them were distrained to become knights.

The greatest military tenants came early to Holderness, and moved into the ranks of the English barons by profitable marriages outside Holderness, continuing however to retain their bases in Holderness. Military society in Holderness tended to be very static, the same families staying in the same manors for hundreds of years once established. In another sense however the knights travelled widely with their counts on military service in Europe and even further into Palestine, on the crusades or on pilgrimages.

In the 13th century if not earlier, not all the knights of Holderness or even the ten knights the count owed the crown went to war, but a smaller number of knights went, supported by money raised from the knights who stayed at home. It is possible to see this system at work in 1214.

The normal obligations of military tenure are described as they occurred in Holderness. Great variation was possible in the 12th century, but by the end of the 13th century all the details of military tenure became no longer flexible but bound by rules. The knight's fee was fixed at 48 carucates by 1189 at the latest. Scutage, castle ward, reliefs, sheriff's aid, all became territorialised, taxes levied on land.

LAND AND PEOPLE

## Land and People

### The Land

Geologically Holderness was once a vast bay, and somewhat to the west of the river boundary of the district there is a sea cliff of chalk, which runs through Bridlington, Driffield, Beverley and Cottingham to Hessle. This cliff was once, in the late Tertiary age, the eastern coastline of what would become the East Riding. The old bay of Holderness was entirely filled by the glaciers creeping down from the west and north in the Pleistocene age. Rocks from Scandinavia, Scotland, the Lake District and the Pennines have been identified in the Holderness boulder clay, brought by the glaciers from these distant places. The great mass of gravel, boulder clay and sand which forms the soil of Holderness was deposited by the glaciers as a terminal moraine. The far-transported drift filled the bay and banked up against the old line of the former sea cliff.

The land of Holderness thus formed was low-lying, mainly less than 75 feet above sea-level, but not entirely flat because of the mounds of morainic debris. The land produces no good building stone, but only cobbles in the boulder clay, which are bonded together in some of the older Holderness buildings to make an unusual walling style. The name "Holderness" is first recorded in Domesday Book as a land division: it also occurs in the form "Helderness", and it is a compound of Old Norse holdr ("a higher yeoman or holder of allodial land") or late old English hold ("an officer of high rank") and naess or nes ("a cape or headland") (1). The significance of the ancient connection of the "holder" with the land is no longer known: but Holderness is still, in spite of many coastal changes, a distinctive ness or promontory, one of the outstanding features of the map of England.

For hundreds of years, and indeed for most of its history, much of Holderness has been marsh or swamp, with slow-moving watercourses and dozens of large and small meres, many of which survived into the later middle ages (2). In prehistoric times there were in addition large areas of wood in Holderness on the drier ground: submerged timbers have been found in building excavations at Hull and Easington, and the origin of some early Holderness place-names, such as Lelley, Sproatley, and Skirlaugh contain the Old English element leah ("a clearing in the wood"). When St John of Beverley built a monastery in the East Riding c.730 it was described as being "in the woods of Deira" (3). Few of these woodlands however survived into the Norman era (4).

Little of the ancient landscape, of water, marsh and wood, survives

in Holderness today. The scenery produced by the boulder clay is not spectacular, and the land is now so extensively cultivated that there is no trace of its original character. The meres that once were so dominant in the landscape have all been drained, with the single exception of Hornsea mere. It requires an effort of imagination to reconstruct the appearance of the country before it was drained. Then much of Holderness must have been almost impenetrable, the small isolated hills being separated from each other by swamps impassable either on foot or in boats. In winter these hills must have been transformed into true islands (5). It was these small hills, mainly of gravel representing material deposited by the melting glaciers, or in some cases marine accumulations from an inter-glacial age, that were the sites of medieval settlements, such as Brandesburton, Mappleton, Aldbrough, Spratley, Burstwick and Paull, for the slight elevation protected the villagers from floods, and the gravel soil drained faster than the clay, and was therefore easier to work. One is conscious, travelling through Holderness, that every slight rise is crowned by a settlement, often with a medieval church at the height of the rise. The correspondence between gravel and settlement is not however exact, and some settlements such as Humbleton, Garton, Tunstall, Wawne and Routh (all mentioned in Domesday Book) were not built on the gravel, and some areas of gravel, mainly the smaller ones, apparently had no medieval settlement (6).

In the Hull valley, which forms the western boundary of Holderness, there was for centuries an extensive marsh (7), the land being "carr" land, flat and peaty: towards the southern end of the valley, and along the Humber coast, the carrs are made of marine silts, lands reclaimed from the tidal area. These areas were avoided by the early settlers, except for the occasional islands of drier land known as "holmes" (8). There is even today a large area of low-lying marshy land around the River Hull which has little use except as rough grazing in summer.

The North Sea coast of Holderness consists mainly of low cliffs of clay which are constantly eroded. The losses of land on this coast are the most spectacular in England: from Barmston to Spurn, the loss averages 2 to 3 yards a year, and in places 5 yards; this is equivalent to a strip of more than a mile wide lost since 1086. Houses and whole villages have been lost to the sea, and the process of erosion still continues. Much of the erosion is due to drainage of land water, the springs forced out of the clay cutting deep gullies in the cliffs. Other



reasons, in addition to the action of the waves, are the loosely compacted nature of the clay, the low equilibrium angle (c.  $5^{\circ}$ ) of the clay, and the fact that the cliffs are softened by water trapped by shingle beaches at their foot. Holderness possesses the longest continuous strip of boulder clay cliff in the British Isles (9), and the loss of the land next to the North Sea, and the growth of new lands in the Humber estuary from soil eroded from the coast and deposited by the tides, are two constant factors in the history of Holderness. In modern times human efforts have altered the shape of the coastline: but in the middle ages the changing coastline was more due to natural forces than to the efforts of man, for man was powerless to prevent coastal erosion, was helpless in the face of great floods that swept away people, animals and land in South Holderness (10) and the dykes medieval man built only touched the fringes of the drainage problems of the Holderness land (11).

### The villages

Holderness has been for centuries, and still is, a land of villages. The typical village of the area, first depicted on 18th-century maps, was a long thin street village (12). Before 1750-1850 there were few outlying farmsteads in Holderness, except on the Humber silts where the reclamation of land led to establishment of grange farms (13).

By 1086 the vast majority of villages in Holderness had already come into existence. All the villages which became civil parishes (that is, all major villages) are recorded in Domesday Book, with the sole exceptions of Skeffling, Atwick and Skipsea, which had appeared by the mid 12th century, Hedon, which was a new town created in the 12th century, and Sunk Island which was part of reclaimed land in the Humber and was not established until the 17th century (14). Settlements recorded in Domesday Book were more concentrated in the East Riding than elsewhere, being rarely more than one mile apart (15). Holderness was comparatively wealthy in 1086, having the greatest number of carucates per square mile in the East Riding, and as many as anywhere in Yorkshire (16). These settlements of 1086 in Holderness were all agricultural, for there was no industry and no towns until the 12th century. The village, not the manor, was the essential form of rural organisation in the Danelaw of which Holderness formed part (17), "manor" being a word avoided except by the king's clerks.

Although very few villages have appeared in Holderness since 1086, many have disappeared. The depopulation of the villages was due in the main to either enclosure for sheep farming, or loss to the sea, on the North Sea coast or by the inundations of the Humber. Professor Beresford lists 29 principal sites of lost villages in Holderness (18) and these do not include the many places for which no site survives, such as Hutton, Ravenser, Sunthorpe, Burstall, Orwithfleet, Frismarsh, Tharlesthorpe, Withfleet and Paull Fleet washed away by the Humber (19). Far more villages or hamlets have been lost since 1086 than have appeared.

Most village patterns have remained unchanged for centuries, and this is particularly true of "street villages" which grew up along one or both sides of a particular piece of road. The houses themselves were rebuilt dozens of times, and often on different alignments, as has been

shown in excavations of deserted villages (20), but powerful forces kept unchanged the course of the street, the area of the tofts in which houses were placed and the relation of the tofts to the street. For to alter the boundary between different constituent parts of the village would at once interfere with other villagers' rights. "It was even more difficult to make any major alterations in the street plan ... there were strong barriers of property-rights and custom to thwart great changes. The really radical reconstructions, like the removal or destruction of a village, come only when there is a sole proprietor in law or a sole arbiter de facto, or when there is an intervention as serious as the wholesale fire which struck Blandford Forum in 1731" (21). Such radical alterations took place in Holderness in the middle ages when the monks of Meaux cleared a village to make a grange (22), when the count of Aumale laid out a new town in the fields of Preston which was to become Hedon, or in the North Riding when Count William le Gros destroyed several villages to make a chase (23) perhaps in imitation of the making of the New Forest.

It is possible that the simple street villages of Holderness arose (long before the Conquest) from the first stages of clearance of woodland, the cleared land being worked from the back of each house and extending backwards in long strips (24), for one of the characteristics of Holderness villages in later centuries was exceptionally long furlongs of this type (25). This ploughing up of the forest in Holderness had for the most part happened long before 1086, although some reclamation continued into the 13th century, being represented by a different category of land, the "foreland" which was land additional to the selions of the village fields (26).

A factor in the location of Holderness villages was the placing of many of them on the small gravel mounds left behind by the glaciers (27). The mounds however are so small that this factor is more an impression gained through travelling across the land, than anything recorded on a contour map: for no part of Holderness is more than one hundred feet above sea level, and few parts are above fifty feet.

Some village boundaries were defined before the Conquest. Pre-Conquest evidence is slight, but there is an Anglo-Saxon charter, dated 1033, for Patrington. It records the grant by King Cnut of an estate to the archbishop of York, and although the boundaries given are of the estate and not of the parish, the features in the boundary clauses identifiable today correspond to the parish boundaries of the 1855 Ordnance Survey map. The description begins at the eastern edge of the

parish, and runs south, west and north and to the east again. Pits, dykes, boundary marks, streams, and, most ephemeral of all, a cattle-shed, form some of the identifying marks. There are also references to Welwick Thorpe, Saltmarsh, Earneshoh (probably Enholmes), Winestead Bridge, the fen (now the Carrs) and Braeanholm (probably Bracken Hill) which can still be found on a 6<sup>th</sup> Ordnance Survey map (28).

Other villages did not evolve defined boundaries until long after 1033. Reference is made elsewhere to the agreement between the lords of Wawne, Sutton, Rise and Routh about the extent of their lands (29), and to the many agreements made in the 13th century over marshland pastures (30).

The surviving village buildings of Holderness are not of great antiquity or interest. No natural building stone is found in the wapentake, and cottages were built out of mud as late as the end of the 19th century (31). More substantial buildings may have been made out of chalk quarried from the old sea cliff to the west of Holderness, but this chalk does not endure exposure to frost for long. Churches and monastic buildings were made out of materials transported from further away, from quarries at Newbald or even Tadcaster. Even the first wooden buildings of Meaux abbey were made from wood brought from Birdsall (32). A local form of building which has survived <sup>from</sup> the middle ages was the use of cobbles, either dug out of the boulder clay or collected from the sea shore, which were built into heavily mortared clumsy walls. Skipsea church was built of this material in the 11th century, as were later medieval churches at Barmston, Easington, Hornsea, Roos, Tunstall and Withernsea (33).



### The villagers

Domesday Book recorded (apart from Drogo de la Beuvrière, the tenant-in-chief), five classes of men living in Holderness in 1086: in a descending order of status, these were the homines, the milites and the sokemen, who were free, and the villeins and bordars, who were unfree. In addition there were 15 priests. There were no burgesses, because there were no towns. There were no slaves in Holderness, or indeed in Yorkshire. The unfree greatly outnumbered the others: in the East Riding as a whole there were 84 priests, burgesses, rent-payers, milites and homines, and 123 sokemen, compared with 1,714 villeins and 441 bordars (34), and on the lands of Drogo de la Beuvrière in Holderness there were 22 homines, 10 milites and 44 sokemen, compared with 397 villeins and 122 bordars (35).

The sokemen of Holderness formed the largest of the free classes. The sokemen, about whom much has been written (36), were "men under a lord's jurisdiction" (37), free men usually with land of their own, who were tied in a personal way, by commendation to their lords and by being under the soke of their lords (38). The sokemen of eastern England are recorded in Domesday Book as having freedom "to go with their land whither they would" (39) and this freedom was the result of the voluntary nature of commendation. After the Conquest such relationships became in many parts of England more rigid, and the pattern of lord and sokeman, or in terms of land, of manor and sokeland, became fossilised. There is no hint in Domesday Book that the sokemen of the northern Danelaw were in 1086 still free to leave their lords, as their equivalents in East Anglia were free to leave (40).

A large proportion of sokemen among the recorded population was a feature of the Domesday survey of the Danelaw counties. Most of the large manors of Yorkshire had sokelands in a number of vills, not necessarily the neighbouring vills. The king's manor of Falsgrave in the North Riding had sokelands in 21 vills, and the bishop of Durham had sokelands in half a dozen vills as the right of his manor of Howden (41). In Holderness the archbishop of York had 10 sokemen, all attached to the manor of Patrington, the amount of land they held not being mentioned (42). The archbishop also had soke over 5 bovates at Drypool (Hull) but the land was waste (43).

Drogo de la Beuvrière's lands were more typical of the Danelaw

pattern. Each large vill (which the Domesday clerks called a manor) had outlands in some vills, called berewicks, and jurisdictional rights over lands in some of these, or in other vills, called sokes. An example might make this clearer: Burstwick, an important and valuable manor, had berewicks in five vills, and sokes in eight vills: the vill of Paull Holme provided both a berewick of 1 carucate, and a sokeland of 1 carucate, and Skeckling provided a berewick of 6 bovates and a sokeland of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  carucates (44).

Nine of Drogo's manors in Holderness had sokelands, Burstwick, Kilnsea, Withernsea, Mappleton, Hornsea, Cleeton, Easington, Aldbrough and Beeford, these being all the largest and most valuable manors, formerly in the hands of the great, Earl Tostig, Earl Morcar, King Harold or Ulf (45). Smaller landholders in Holderness evidently did not attract men to their homage in the same way as did the more powerful, and this is presumably because only the greater thanes could protect adequately the men under their soke. On the sokelands of these nine great manors there were 43 sokemen as well as villeins and bordars. In addition there was one sokeman on the small manor of Newsome (parish of Owthorne), a place without recorded sokeland.

There is no obvious connection between the number of sokemen on a manor and the area of sokelands in Holderness: for instance Burstwick had 6 sokemen and sokeland amounting to 20 carucates 3 bovates in 8 vills; Kilnsea had 6 sokemen and sokeland of 29 carucates in 11 vills; and Withernsea had 10 sokemen and sokeland of 27 carucates 11 bovates in 11 vills (46). The sizes of individual holdings are not given in the Holderness Domesday, nor is it possible to compare the average sokeman's holding with that of the average villein.

After Domesday Book the sokemen of Holderness are not mentioned again except perhaps once, indirectly, when a man, granted land by St Mary's abbey York at Southorpe in Hornsea c.1200, was ordered to lend his plough once a year when the abbey had its boon days from its men of the soke of Hornsea (47). Apart from this reference the class of sokemen, already small in Holderness in 1086 compared with some other parts of the Danelaw, seems to have disappeared, the sokemen moving either up to the "free tenants" category, or, more probably, down to villein status. The end of the 11th century saw a sharp decline in the number of sokemen in many districts of England, but

especially in the eastern counties where there had been many in 1066. It has been suggested that the very idea of a freeman who was able to bestow his land and his homage where he chose, and change his choice at will, was inimical to Norman society, "a freedom that could not be tolerated" (48). The forcing down the social scale of sokemen recorded in several counties in Domesday Book (49) is likely to have happened in Yorkshire, where land values had fallen sharply between 1066 and 1086, and much land was waste. In the North Riding, for instance, the manor of Northallerton had sokelands in 24 villis, inhabited in 1066 by 116 sokemen, but in 1086 all the land was waste. At Falsgrave in the same Riding there were in 1066 108 sokemen but in 1086 there were only 7 (50). Perhaps some Holderness sokemen may have retained their free status, although the scales were weighed against them: there is no evidence, for none of them is named (51). Even with their free status, the sokemen were little above the status of the villeins with whom they are invariably listed by the Domesday clerks, and to the Norman newcomers they must have seemed merely another kind of villager, with an awkward insistence on a freedom they once possessed but no longer could exercise.

The most numerous class of men in Domesday was that of the villani, which was the forerunner of the later class of villeins, the unfree peasants of the manor. The Domesday clerks seem to have used the term villan<sup>45</sup> to signify villager. It was a heterogeneous class, including many different economic levels and doubtless many variations of services due. The 1086 villanus was not the same as the legally-defined villein of the 13th century, with his labour services, heriots and merchets, his inability to sue in court and above all his bondage to the land. In 1086 the villani could still be counted on occasion as free men (52) and from an economic point of view there may have been little choice between the poorer sokeman and the richer villanus. The villani of the early Norman period were not as clearly distinguished from the lower ranks of freemen as were their successors after the development of royal justice under Henry II, when a man's free or unfree status affected his legal rights. In the East Riding in 1086 there were 14 villani for every sokeman, and on Drogo's lands in Holderness there were 9 villani for every sokeman (53).

In the years after Domesday Book the status of the villani became more

and more defined by custom and law, and they became the villeins of medieval law books, dependent peasants "who spent their lives in a state of economic and personal subordination on holdings regarded in law as the property of their lords" (54). They were bound to the manor by their unfree condition and it became common to refer to them as bondi or bondmen. A whole settlement in Holderness acquired the name of Bond Burstwick, that is, "Burstwick where the bondmen live" (55).

Villein holdings in England were usually of a standard size. In the Yorkshire Domesday the size of the holdings was not recorded, but in the fuller records of the Middlesex Domesday, the holdings of the villani consisted almost invariably of standard units, hides or virgates, half hides or half virgates (56). The average holding of the Holderness villeins in the 13th century seems to have been one bovaté, which in Holderness could represent a considerable quantity of land (57). In 1260 on the count's demesnes there were 21 bondmen at Easington, 7 at Dimlington, 38 at Preston, 31 at Keyingham. Some of these numbers remained unchanged for centuries, for as the basis of carucages remained unaltered, so did the number of bovates in a manor and therefore in some places there was little or no variation in the number of villeins holding the bovates. There are insufficient sets of figures to form a definite conclusion that this was commonly the case in Holderness, but in 1086 Keyingham had 30 villeins (58), there were 31 villeins holding  $30\frac{1}{2}$  bovates there in 1260 (59) and 30 or 31 villeins throughout Countess Isabella's time (60). At Preston on the other hand there were in 1086 56 villeins (61) and in 1260 there were 55 bovates, but held by only 38 villeins (62). Most of the villeins in 1260 held one bovaté, very occasionally 2 bovates or  $\frac{1}{2}$  bovaté (63). Some of the bondmen must have been prosperous: Alan Oustyby at Preston, for instance, had 2 messuages, a croft of 3 acres, 2 bovates containing 29 acres of arable and 5 acres of meadow, and he paid 40s. 8d. rent a year, more than many free tenants (64). Pasture was attached to the bovates, and in Keyingham the villein holder of each bovaté had the right to graze 2 oxen, 2 cows and 8 sheep. On the rich pastures of Sutton much larger numbers of animals were grazed: surely few villeins could have owned the 20 large animals, 100 sheep, 4 pigs and 10 geese they were allowed? (65) The rights of the unfree tenants of Halsham were mentioned in an agreement over the pastures there in 1240 (66).



The bondmen, however rich, were not free but bound to their manors. They could not leave their holdings without fear of being pursued and forced to return to the manor, and fined as well (67). Villeinage could be traced back through generations to tie a man to servitude (68). The bondmen had to pay merchet and a customary aid, and do agricultural works for their lords: carting and reaping was demanded by the count in 1260 as his right (69). They could not sell their land, for all that they had belonged to their lord (70). In addition the villeins and their families, with their lands and their houses, could be given away, sold, or even rented out. One Lincolnshire bondwoman on the count's lands at Castle Bytham was sold for 5s. at the beginning of the 13th century (71), and it was common for grants of land to include the men holding them (72). Abbeys also were given and granted away villeins, and between 1221 and 1235 Meaux was given at one sweep all the unfree tenants of Skerne (73). Nunkeeling was granted 2 villeins holding 2 bovates, and 1 villein holding one bovat, early in the 13th century (74). Between 1182 and 1197 Peter de Meaux gave Meaux abbey 2 bovates with 2 crofts and a man holding one of the bovates in Owthorne: all of which, including the man, the abbot leased to someone else for 12d. yearly (75).

It was possible for a man to leave villeinage, as it was possible for him to sink down into it from a free condition, and some Holderness men struggled upwards. Some villeins became rich: Askill, a villein of Fulk de Roostona, held the very large amount of 1 carucate of land from Fulk before c.1115. His carucate was subsequently given to Meaux abbey and confirmed by the count of Aumale: Askill, now called Askill de Hedon, or his heirs, gained instead money. Askill's son and grandson were William de Hedon and Simon son of William: it may be hazarded that Askill and his descendants gained their freedom by removing to the newly-created town of Hedon, where if a man could live for a year and a day, he was counted free (76). Another man, Richard son of William de Paull, was freed by his master by being delivered (early in the 13th century) into the hands of the bailiffs of Hedon, his master promising never to reclaim him (77).

The son of Alan the bondman of Sir Peter de Fauconberg managed to gain an education and become a magister (78), rich enough to confer 22 acres of arable and 4 acres of meadow on Meaux abbey between 1235 and 1249. Sir Peter de Fauconberg claimed this land as his, by virtue of the servile birth of the donor, but was eventually persuaded to forego his claim (79). A villein could be manumitted by his lord, but there are no recorded examples of this in Holderness by 1260. What is apparent however from the 1260s surveys on the death of the last count of Aumale is that by this time most of the villein services had been commuted (80).

Some villeins reached positions of great importance<sup>ce</sup> in the service of their masters. Crow grange (in Dringhoe) was in the charge of one of Meaux abbey's bondmen, who, being constantly disturbed by the croaking of the crows around the grange, persuaded the abbot to let him try to get rid of them. He did so by cutting down all the trees (81). Although the Meaux chronicler obviously felt the villein went too far in this instance, he was evidently given considerable executive powers and the opportunity to discuss affairs with the abbot. Villeins were used by both the church and laymen to staff their estates. Reeves, shepherds, stock-keepers, were usually of this class, and in the 1270s the countess of Aumale had villein receivers who were chosen by the election of the villages of Preston, Keyingham and Easington (82). The Aumale stock-keepers and receivers handled large quantities of goods, to the value of hundreds of pounds: they used tallies at the annual audits. It is interesting to speculate whether or not they were literate, but there is no evidence.

The lowliest class of Holderness villager both in 1086 and later was that of the bordars and cottars, for there were no slaves in Yorkshire. No cottars are mentioned in the Yorkshire Domesday, only bordars, but in other parts of the country both bordars and cottars occur and seem to be of the same status (83). By the thirteenth century these villagers in Holderness were called cottars, that is "cottagers" who might hold small amounts of land but not a full share in the village fields, and eked out a living by practising a trade or by acting as labourers for their lord.

Little is known of the cottars except on the demesne lands of the counts. The cottars of Skeckling in 1253 included a miller, a baker and a vintner (84). The surveys of 1260 add the following occupation names among the cottars: brewer, roofer or thatcher, parker, shepherd, reaper (le Beder), carter and many smiths (85).

The holdings of the cottars in 1260 were very small, of  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1 or 2 acres, 1 acre being the most common. In addition to the money rents paid for these lands, cottars owed merchet, a customary aid, and suit of court. There were many women cottars on the count's demesne, far more than there were women among the villein tenants: in 1260 only 15 women held bovates, out of a recorded total of 96 villeins (about 1/6th). But among the 68 cottars recorded in 1260, 20 were women, nearly 1/3 (86). These women cottars were sometimes described as "widow" or "daughter of", but by no means always; it seems that they were allowed to hold their lands in their own right, not merely as adjuncts of their menfolk. Why

there should be significantly more women cottars than villeins is not certain; it is possibly connected with the greater burden of labour services demanded from villeins.

It was probably the cottars that the archbishop of York was protecting when in 1286 he ordered his parish priests of Holderness not to exact tithes from country labourers earning 5s. a year or less (87). The cottars were much poorer than the bondmen or villeins, whose rents were reckoned in shillings rather than pence. At Sutton in 1269-70, when an agreement was made for stinting of the pastures, each bovate (the usual villein holding) could graze 20 large animals, 100 sheep, 4 pigs with young and 10 geese; but each cottar could only have 4 large animals, 30 sheep, 2 pigs and 5 geese (88). This was very rich grazing land, but the proportion between the two kinds of unfree tenant is interesting.

### Tofts and crofts

The village houses, the tofts, crofts and sometimes gardens and orchards of the villagers lay at the centre of the rural community, inside the circle of common fields, meadows and pastures. The parish church and the priest's house was a feature of many Holderness villages, as was the hall of the lord of the village.

The toft was the site of a house and its outbuildings. So insubstantial were 12th- and 13th-century houses in an area like Holderness, which had no natural building stone, that in the surviving charters it is almost always the toft that is transferred from one man to another, and the buildings on the toft are rarely mentioned. Only one Holderness medieval village has yet been excavated: this is at Wawne, where from the sites of 12th-14th century village houses no building materials were recovered, except the squared corner stones in situ (89). These flimsy houses, probably built of turf or earth, lasted little more than a generation, being endlessly rebuilt on new foundations and often on a new alignment (90).

There was no standard area of a toft, and some of the tofts were large for building plots, amounting to smallholdings. Tofts of  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1, 2, 3 and 4 acres are recorded in the 12th and 13th centuries (91). One toft at Halsham was described in the 13th century as being 6 perches long and 6 perches wide (92). The size of the toft was not fixed permanently, for in the 13th century one toft was sub-divided by Meaux abbey into seven tofts (93), nor was their number fixed, for grants of land were sometimes made "to make a toft" as was the  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre in Ottringham moor mentioned in the Bridlington cartulary (94).

On only three occasions were the buildings on the tofts mentioned: a toft with buildings at Routh next to the manor house (95), a toft with a hall at Wyke on Hull (96), and a toft with buildings at Halsham (97). Sometimes the tofts were described as being surrounded by a dyke, the "fence-ditches" described elsewhere (98), at Frismarsh and at Rimswell (99).

Tofts were considered to be appurtenant to bovates of land, rather than the reverse (100). Often each bovat granted by one man to another had an accompanying toft: between 1235 and 1249 the abbot of Meaux granted extensive property in East Halsham, consisting of 10 bovates with a capital messuage, 10 tofts and 10 crofts (101). This correspondence was not always exact, and it was possible to grant either a bovat or a toft separately (102).



Behind the tofts or house plots lay the crofts, small enclosed areas behind the houses which could be used for gardens or to pen in animals. The crofts of deserted medieval villages can be seen as rectangles on many aerial photographs (103). In many villages the croft ran back from the house as far as the edge of the open fields, and at the meeting place of croft and open field there was often a back lane, with walls or ditches to prevent the animals straying from croft to field and vice versa. The boundary walls where the crofts met the open fields are still a prominent earthwork on many deserted medieval village sites (104).

Crofts are mentioned early in Holderness history. Between 1127 and 1135 the poor of the hospital of Bridlington were given a croft of 2 acres (105) and between c.1134 and 1138 a croft called "Aldecroft" in Ottringham is mentioned. This was synonymous with the garden in Ottringham mentioned in subsequent confirmations to Bridlington priory, indicating the use of "Aldecroft" (106). Like tofts, crofts were of varying sizes, 4, 5, 16 and 36 acres being mentioned (107). One croft is described as being made up of 5 selions (108), and Aselcroft in Ottringham was "a plot of arable" (109). No doubt many crofts represented enclosures of arable near the village (110).

### Demesne lands and enclosed lands

The distinction between the enclosed lands of the villagers' crofts and the enclosed lands of the lord's demesnes, his gardens and orchards, is not always clear (111). It is supposed that the lord of an open-field village in the Danelaw once had his share of land in the common fields: his demesne strips lay scattered among the lands of his men, as the lands of the glebe lay scattered between other men's strips. In some Holderness villages this arrangement continued: the count of Aumale's demesne lands at Skeffling lay scattered among the fields (112), and the demesne land of Hawisa de Blosseville lay everywhere among the lands of Halsham (113). There were however many villages where the lord used his authority to rearrange the strips so that his strips lay in blocks: from which it was but a short step to enclosing the blocks. Enclosure of land was not a post-medieval phenomenon, but existed in Holderness from the 12th century at least, in pasture and in meadow, and even in the common fields. Between 1197 and 1210 Meaux abbey acquired land at Arnold where a grange was subsequently built, the donor giving the abbey strips lying together in two flatts, and giving his men, who had formerly held land in those flatts, land acre for acre elsewhere in the territory of Arnold (114). This exchange was made easier because the donor already had a close in the middle of the flatts. In the middle of the 13th century if not earlier the grange was enclosed by a wall (115).

At the same time a similar transaction is recorded, between Peter de Fauconberg and the freemen of North Skirlaugh and Rowton on the one hand, and the nuns of Swine on the other. Fauconberg and the freemen gave up any rights they had in arable lands called Milnehol and Cornuwra, and in some meadow in Arnold, and in return Swine granted the freemen pasture rights after the crops were taken until the spring sowing (116). In 1269 the canons of Bridlington were granted two cultures of arable land in Ottringham, one in the west marsh containing 12 acres in 5 selions, and one in the east marsh containing 8 acres in 4 selions. This implies consolidation of strips if not actual enclosure, and probably the marsh, being by its nature additional to the common stock of arable land of a vill, lent itself to an early consolidation of this kind (117). At the end of the 12th century a close containing selions at West Hatfield was mentioned, and another Meaux enclosure of arable is recorded there

between 1235 and 1249 (118). Between 1235 and 1249 Meaux abbey acquired by gift and exchange arable in Magnusdayle, Sutton, with permission from the lord of Sutton and others with rights there to enclose Magnusdayle and the adjoining lands with a wall and a dyke, to make all kinds of improvements in the lands as they chose once it was enclosed (119). At the beginning of the 13th century land including 12 selions in an enclosure at Rimswell was sold by one layman to another to quit a debt (120).

When Robert Constable granted his demesne of Tharlesthorpe to Meaux in 1188, it included more than 74 acres joined together in Sumerethi, all Uth Sumerethi, all Newland, all South Croft, all North Croft, all West Aldecroft and all North Aldecroft and meadow and all Grodhes and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land in Sumerethi next to the 74 acres (121). Obviously Constable had enclosed, or at least consolidated, considerable areas of land in Tharlesthorpe.

Often it is not clear whether it was meadow, pasture or arable that was enclosed. In the reign of Henry I, Umfrid de Keyingham acquired "le Newland" in Keyingham marsh, and surrounded it with a ditch (122). At Beeford there was a close of land called Baronia (123). In the 13th century a man gave the canons of Bridlington land, a capital messuage, a garden and his great close in Skirlington: what kind of land lay in the great close is not known (124). Robert de Monceaux gave Nunkeeling 2 bovates of land in Sunderlandwick "except for my enclosures" (125).

From these examples of enclosures of all kinds of lands, it may be seen that their occurrence was not uncommon, and that although the monks took a leading part in consolidation and enclosure, laymen were also forming closes at an early date. The lands of the village, on detailed examination, form a complex pattern. The motive for enclosure was the opportunity for improvement of the land, and this is stated several times (126). On one occasion between 1197 and 1210 when a layman returned disputed lands to Meaux abbey, he was paid for the expenses he had incurred in his improvements (127).

Much less is known of the demesne manors of the counts of Aumale in Holderness before 1260 than of other manors: there are no land transfers to describe how the land was divided up or farmed, no lawsuits over disputed acreages. After 1260 there is information of all kinds,

because there still survives a long series of rentals, surveys and estate accounts dealing with the dowager countess's lands (128). It is only in the year when the last count died, in 1260, that it is possible to see how the demesne manors were organised at that time for arable farming, in the inquisitions and surveys taken immediately after the death of William de Forz III (129): but these papers, valuable as they are, give a limited picture only, because there are no details about the produce of the land in corn and little information about the animal farming, particularly the sheep-farming, which was only a few years later providing one third of the income of Holderness (130). The farming methods on the demesne for the years before 1260 remain largely unknown.

At the time of Domesday Book in 1086 Drogo de la Beuvrière, forerunner of the counts, held in demesne about two thirds of the manors of Holderness (131). His successors throughout two hundred years had dispersed much of Drogo's land, but many of the most valuable demesne manors of 1086, Burstwick, Kilnsea, Withernsea, Cleeton with Skipsea, Easington, Aldbrough, Mappleton and Hornsea, were still part of the demesne when the last count died in 1260: only three had been granted away, Aldbrough to the Ros family, Mappleton to the St Quintins, and Hornsea to the abbey of St Mary's York. In addition to the Domesday manors "new growth" lands at Little Humber and recently founded boroughs had been added to the demesnes.

The counts' main revenues were always from their lands, as their franchisal revenues were small and feudal revenue, from relief on knights' fees, customary aids and other feudal incidents was erratic.<sup>(132)</sup> Much of Holderness was in the hands of other men, knights, freemen or unfree, during the whole time of the counts, and these men paid the counts' bailiffs yearly the rents or services in return for which they held the lands.

Certain areas of land, the demesne lands of the counts, accounted to the bailiffs more directly. The income from these lands fell into two main classifications: firstly the rents from free and unfree tenants, with tallage from the unfree; secondly the produce of the manorial demesne in corn and livestock, particularly in the later 13th century from wool sales. In addition in Holderness the revenues of the boroughs were counted as part of the demesne.

There is no evidence as to how the demesne was farmed in the 11th and 12th century: it was probably much closer to a subsistence economy than it was in later years, and probably the count and his household consumed



the produce of the manors directly. The Byland chronicle described how in the 12th century the Mowbray household travelled through the demesnes, from manor to manor (133), but while this probably happened when the count of Aumale was in England, there are indications that in the early 12th century the produce of Holderness was sent in a ship to Aumale for the use of the count (134). From the time of the founding of the town of Hedon, c.1115, trade became of increasing importance, as there was now available, convenient for the demesne manors of South Holderness, an outlet for grain, wool, hides and surplus produce of all kinds.

By 1260 the demesne manors were Burstwick (which included all of Ridgmont, Bond Burstwick, Skeckling, Lelley and Lelley Dyke and part of Burton Pidsea), Little Humber, Keyingham, Skeffling, Kilnsea, Easington, Preston, Owthorne and Witherhsea together, Cleeton which included Skipsea, Nunkeeling, and the boroughs of Hedon, Ravenser Odd and Skipsea Brough (135). In many of these manors part of the demesnes was being farmed by others; in Easington, for instance, there were two fields, an east field and a west field, in which there were 210 acres of demesne land rented to the villeins, 7 free tenants with small holdings (except for the abbot of Thornton who held 7 bovates), 22 bondmen and 22 cottars holding tofts and crofts and sometimes small amounts of land. The count had retained for himself 121 acres of arable in 11 small fields or closes, and 15 small meadows. This was the pattern of land-holding in all the demesne manors except Burstwick (which seems to have been kept entirely in the count's own hand), and suggests that the count had found it more profitable by 1260 to lease out the demesne than to farm it himself. Land of the bondmen at Preston was worth only 10s. yearly in rent and works, but if it was let at farm it was worth double (136). This was not a new phenomenon, for villeins were to be found on the count's demesne holding land before 1230 (137). The count's own farmland at Easington was all enclosed and no longer lay in the open fields, as it had earlier in the 13th century at Skeffling (138).

Burstwick at £116 was in 1260 much the most valuable of the manors, even though it contained the count's two deer parks of North and South Park, which were agriculturally unproductive. It was largely an arable farm, and unlike the other demesne manors, was entirely retained in the count's own hands. The demesne lands at Burstwick were in 1260 about 750 acres of arable, with smaller amounts of meadow and pasture. In the subsidiary villages of Bond Burstwick,

Burton Pidsea, Lelley and Lelley Dyke lived the unnumbered bondmen of Burstwick, holding between them  $111\frac{1}{2}$  bovates of land, and 74 cottars, holding unspecified lands for money rents. There was also a small number of free tenants, 5 being holders in serjeanty. It was the bondmen who did most of the farm work, ploughing the count's fields with the eight Burstwick ploughs for which William the Smith had to make irons, reaping and carrying the crops. Probably the cottars were also employed on agricultural work, but this is not mentioned in the surveys.

The next most valuable manors were Keyingham, worth £55 a year, of which the 450 acres of arable kept in demesne was the most valuable part, and the northern manor of Cleeton and Skipsea, worth £27, with 346 acres of arable in demesne. In all the demesne manors of 1260 the value of the manor was almost equally divided between the value of the land and the value of the rents and services of the men.

As a bonus to the enclosure of the count's own lands, or perhaps as a result of the enclosures, more sophisticated farming methods were practised on the count's demesne lands than elsewhere in Holderness. At Burstwick, Ridgmont, Keyingham and Little Humber a more intensive crop rotation was practised: at Burstwick there were 600 acres of arable of which 400 acres were sown every year, and 200 acres lay fallow: at Ridgmont there were 240 acres of arable of which 160 acres were sown: at Keyingham 469 acres, of which 360 were sown and at Little Humber 360 acres of which 240 acres were sown each year. In all these manors two-thirds of the land was being cultivated each year and one-third lay fallow. What the crops were is not recorded. Not being obliged to keep to the crops required by the village economy, the count could treat his demesne enclosures as he chose, and in Keyingham in 1260 there is a long list of arable closes which the count had turned to pasture. Keyingham was one of the great sheep farms of Holderness.

The counts had been keeping sheep in Normandy and England since at least 1115, before the Cistercians ever began their sheep farming in Yorkshire (139). William le Gros before 1175 had a sufficient number of sheep to be able to give 500 sheep to Newton Garth hospital near Hedon (140). From the first estate accounts post 1260, it is obvious that the counts had been engaged in large scale sheep-farming for years, and that the complex organisation first recorded in the 1260s had been in existence for some time (141). The sheep pastures were almost all in the south of Holderness, principally at Keyingham, Preston and Little Humber, the sole exception being Cleeton near Skipsea in the north. The stock-keeper had his headquarters at

Keyingham, which had the largest flocks (142) and had also a building specially constructed for the use of the merchants who came to buy the wool clip (143). The wool was shipped out of Holderness through the port of Hedon (144), or possibly through Beverley or Hull. By the mid 1260s the demesne lands of the countess of Aumale in Holderness carried thousands of sheep: she had 7,816 and lambs there in September 1265 (145). The earliest Holderness account roll, for 1261-1262, shows that among the countess's receipts for the year the reeve of Burstwick provided £136 of the income of Holderness, and the wool clip £113: none of the other receipts were of significance compared with these two sums (146).

Less important parts of the demesne farming were the mills, which were valued at only about £1 each in 1260 (147), the count's dairies of Burstwick, Keyingham and Little Humber (148), and the horses of Holderness. In later centuries the horses were to become very famous: "colts of my horses" were mentioned among the tithes paid by the count of Aumale as early as 1115 (149) and by the end of the 13th century many were bred for the countess of Aumale's household and friends. One horse was given by the countess to Walter of Henley in 1267, and it would be pleasant to think that this was the famous agriculturalist, and that the horse was in return for agricultural advice (150).

### Common fields

In a typical medieval village in Holderness the cluster of houses and garths, the tofts and crofts, the house of the lord and the church lay close together surrounded by the land of the village, which although it might be individually owned was for the most part farmed in common by the inhabitants (151). The land was graded into three main divisions, arable, meadow and pasture, and the unit of open field holdings in Holderness, as in the Danelaw generally, was the bovate or oxgang. The bovate in Holderness was usually an eighth of a carucate (the exception being on the archbishop's land, where it was a twelfth of a carucate) (152). The bovate and the carucate were both fiscal units, consisting of variable amounts of acres of arable, meadow, and pasture.

The origins of English measures of land are as Maitland observed long ago, very ancient and very simple. They were based on the length of a human foot, the length of measuring stick called a rod, pole or perch, and on the amount of land a man could plough in a day. All three of these measures could and did vary. English land came to be counted in acres, an amount of land reckoned either in a number of perches, or as the amount that could be ploughed in a day. A "normal" acre was 4 perches wide and 40 perches (one furlong) in length. But there were many variations in acres, long acres and short acres, and even the perch in which the acre was measured varied in length, being for instance  $17\frac{1}{2}$  feet at Cottingham and 24 feet at Balne (both in Yorkshire). No uniform standard prevailed in England, even in the 19th century, and the varying size of the perch enabled one acre to be four times as large as another (153). The other element in the origin of the acre, the size of the piece of land that could be ploughed in one day, varied from place to place according to local tradition, and perhaps according to the difficulty or ease with which the soil could be worked. Because of these uncertainties in measurements, and because the lie of the land in the fields made it not always possible to divide the field into equal rectangular areas, the "real acres" in an open field could diverge widely from the ideal acre in the minds of those who made them. A plot in the field could be called an acre which did not contain what the 20th century would call later a statute acre (154).

A bovate was the typical villein's holding in Holderness. Bovates were of standard size in any one vill, but varied from vill to vill as to the number of acres in the bovate. In addition to arable, the bovate



included meadow and pasture rights. At Halsham between 1210 and 1220 there were 14 acres of arable in each bovat, lying on each side of the vill (155). Each of the count of Aumale's demesne bovates at Owthorne and Witherhsea in 1260 had 8 acres of arable, and also meadow and pasture; each demesne bovat at Kilnsea in the same year contained 8 acres of arable and 2 acres of meadow (156). At Eske in Holderness in 1278 there were 16 bovates of which each bovat contained 17 acres of arable and 9 acres of meadow, and also to each bovat belonged 30 acres 3 perches of pasture (157).

By the 13th century, bovates were "virtually immutable units" in north and east Yorkshire, inherited from some earlier period (158). There is little evidence to show that several bovates were combined in one man's tenure, or to show that bovates were partitioned between co-heirs. The recorded majority of Holderness villeins in 1260 held one bovat, not more than one and not a fraction of one (159). Some holders of bovates held in addition "foreland", arable land which was additional to land in the open fields, which was measured in acres rather than in bovates. At Easington, Dimlington, Preston and Kilnsea there was foreland in 1260(160). What happened to villeins' sons who did not succeed to land is not recorded, and it may be presumed that they lived at home for as long as they could, and then if they were unable to acquire a bovat for themselves, they must have become cottars.

Land was not necessarily permanently assigned to arable, meadow or pasture: some of the salt marshes were converted from pasture to arable, and the monks of Meaux ploughed pasture at Wawne. Conversely the count of Aumale turned arable into pasture at Keyingham (161). Both these examples may stem from the fact that the abbey and the count felt they could do what they wished with their lands, as it would have been infinitely more difficult for a whole village community to agree to alter land use. Probably many more changes of use were unrecorded, probably sometimes the marginal land was farmed, and at other times abandoned. As the assessments of the vills in carucates and bovates remained unaltered for hundreds of years, the size of the bovat as expressed in acres of land may have altered from time to time (162).

### Arable

The arable lay in open fields around the village settlement, usually in Holderness in two great fields, which were subdivided by balks of turf

that provided access into smaller rectangular areas known as flatts, furlongs, shotts or falls (163). The flatts in their turn were subdivided into strips of land which were known as selions, riggs or lands. The arable fields, in the two-field system common in medieval Holderness, were cultivated in alternate years, the fallow field being used for pasture and thus fertilised, so that a lease for 20 years of one selion in each field entitled the lessee to 10 crops from each field (164). It was for this reason necessary for men to have an approximately equal number of holdings in both fields, their strips being scattered among the flatts but often occurring at regular intervals in each flatt, so that land belonging to the church in Camerton lay everywhere in the fields between the land of Simon de Camerton and the land of William Pety (165), and in Long Riston in 1272 two selions were described as being in the east field and in the west field, but both lay between the lands of William de Routh and Hugh son of Agnes (166). Such regularity occurred in many villages but not in all (167).

Strips are sometimes described as "nearer the sun", as for instance in 1227 when land at Skeffling was described as "lying everywhere to the sun" (168), land at Halsham "towards the sun" (169) and in Brandesburton "next to the sun" (170), and it is possible that the distribution of strips in the flatts was in these places at least in accordance with the "sun-division" described by Göransson (171). Strips were distinguished from the neighbouring strips by the furrow between one ridge and the next, and the pattern thus formed remains in grasslands in many parts of Holderness (172).

There are very few exceptions to the two-field rotation in Holderness (173) and many villages can be shown to have had two open fields in the 12th and 13th centuries, usually named geographically.

Villages with two open fields in Holderness, 12th and 13th centuries

<u>Date of first occurrence</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>Names of fields</u>
1182-1197	Dringhoe	two fields
1197-1210	Arnold	two fields
c.1200	Winkton	West and South
early 13th cent.	Great Cowden	East and West
early 13th cent.	Rimswell	North and South
c.1230	Waxholme	East and West
1235-1249	Rise	East

Villages with two open fields in Holderness, 12th and 13th centuries (cont'd)

13th cent.	Sproatley	East and West
13th cent.	Ottringham	East and West
13th cent.	Sutton	East
mid 13th cent.	Brandesburton	West
1272	Long Riston	East and West
c.1280	Preston	North and South
late 13th cent.	Etherdwick	two fields
1290-1303	Hilston	two fields

(174)

The only example of a Holderness village which certainly had three fields in this period was East Halsham, where a north, south and west field was mentioned (175).

In addition to the two-field villages, there are examples in Holderness of a more primitive agricultural system, that was still being practised in some places in the Wolds in the 18th century (176). This is the infield-outfield system, where the infield was cultivated regularly, but the outfield only occasionally, being used as a pasture in the intervening time. When only one field is mentioned in connection with a village, as in grants of land "in the field of the vill" it seems reasonable to assume that there was only one field (for when the vill had two fields they were distinguished by name, as west and east, or north and south fields). The one Anglo-Saxon charter relating to Holderness, that for Patrington of 1033, refers to the "inland" of Patrington, a phrase peculiar to the infield-outfield system (177). At Out Newton in 1160-1175 a man granted Bridlington priory 4 perches through the whole field (178). At Frismarsh between 1187 and 1207 10 acres were granted in "the field of the vill" (179). In a confirmation to St Sepulchre's hospital, Hedon, the field of Ryhill is mentioned (180). In the 13th century the vills of West Newton, Flinton, Aldbrough, Barmston, Paull Holme, Ellerby and Bewholme seem to have had only one field (181), and at Paull Holme 3 acres of land in the field are described as being  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres of arable,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres of meadow (182).

If it is accepted that in the 12th and early 13th centuries Out Newton, Frismarsh, Ryhill, Arnold, West Newton, Flinton, Aldbrough, Paull Holme, Barmston, Ellerby and Bewholme had only one common field, cultivated in an archaic manner, it must be said that there is no apparent geographical

reason why these townships should have kept to infield-outfield, while other villas among which they lay practised the two-field system. Fris-marsh is a township now lost on the Humber shore; Arnold lay in the Hull valley and Ryhill in Burstwick parish. West Newton was in the parish of Aldbrough, not far from Out Newton, Flinton and Ellerby. Bewholme is further north in the parish of Nunkeeling and Barmston is in the extreme north of Holderness, the last parish before the boundary with the next wapentake.

Much has been written about English field systems (183), and one of the more recent articles suggests that the open field village was an evolving organism, and that it might not have been established as early, and as permanently, as is usually believed (184). It is possible that in the 12th and 13th centuries some Holderness villages were evolving from an infield-outfield to a two-field system at this time. In the 17th and 18th centuries one of the characteristic features of Holderness open field villages (as recorded on surviving estate, enclosure and tithe plans) was exceptionally long furlongs, perpendicular to the houses in the long street villages. It has been suggested that this phenomenon indicates an origin of this type of layout earlier in a one-field system like that of the langstreifenfluren of north-west Germany, or in strip-farms like those of the German Waldhufendorfer (185).

Of the sizes of the open fields there is no indication. The carucate assessments of the villas were fictitious assessments made for revenue purposes and could be used to distinguish a large villa from a small one, but not to assess their size accurately. It is certain that in 1086 many of the villas were not fully cultivated up to their ultimate boundaries, the boundaries themselves being sometimes undefined at that time (186). As the villas grew in population, more land would be added to the common stock of the villa, by cultivating some of the common pasture, or using the marshlands.

Many of the flatts (bundles of strips of the open fields) are named in 12th- and 13th-century conveyances. In Halsham, for instance, one of the best documented of the Holderness villages, four charters provide the names of Sevesholm, Sepholm or Sefholm, Crakholm, Turfholm, Thacdailes, Skippenhoudail, Damhals, Stainbers, Magnum Duddeholm and Parvum Duddeholm, Skeldoudaile, Austermordic, Suggethornedaile, Brahythemar, Stainberghe, Houethcollinges, Foxhil, Swinestie, Holes, Biscopekeldedailes, Hughlemar, Wilhholm, Gaire and Hyeland (187). Field names for Ottringham before c.1300 record arable land in Slettinghes, Blacmold, Sandhil, Linhil and West Linhil, Swynmote, Westbrocland, Kerberkhill, Brockelous, Kirkholm, Heuedland, Ginaltoftes, Thouinar, Northcroft, Lumergog, Mikelsike,



Neucroft, Buldighoc, Winstidales, Adredidale, Brunwaldale (188). Individual strips too had names, although much less commonly than the flatts: one in Ottringham in 1227 was named Ketelrig (189) and c.1280 a selion of arable with meadow in Long Riston was called "Asketines oxsegang" (190).

Selions or strips were of variable size. In Long Riston two selions were equivalent to 6 acres (191). Of two flatts at Ottringham in 1269, one contained 12 acres in 5 selions, the other 8 acres in 4 selions (192). A selion in Preston contained  $\frac{3}{4}$  acre and in another selion in the north field of Preston there were 4 acres (193). A "land" at Halsham contained 1 acre, 1 stang and 9 perches (194). At Arnold a selion was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  perches wide (195) and two selions, in East Halsham and in Ryhill, are described as being 2 perches wide (196). Five acres at Halsham c.1250 were made up of 2 selions together, one other selion, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  stangs (that is, poles) of land (197). These examples show a very wide variation in the area of the selion.

The English countryside records in many places the patterns of medieval plough strips, fossilised into the "ridge and furrow" of land once arable but long under pasture. The strips are not always perfectly straight, but often form a reversed "S" on the ground. The ridge shape and the reversed S shape are both the result of the method of ploughing with a mould-board plough: first the centre furrow of the strips was ploughed and then the successive furrows were cast against it until the boundaries of the strip were reached. As the adjacent strips were ploughed in the same way, the earth was gradually built up higher in the centre of each strip and lower at the outside edge. The pattern of ridge and furrow thus created survives many subsequent changes of use and can be seen in very many parts of Yorkshire, even in suburban gardens. Various theories have been advanced for the characteristic reversed "S" shape of the strips, but in essence the ploughman with his large team of oxen had to pull to the left in order to turn to the right on the headland. It has been suggested that the reversed "S" strips are older than the shorter straight strips which may have been created in the late medieval or Tudor period (198).

At the end of the S-shaped selions were headlands of unploughed grass, left for the ploughs to turn on, for a plough with an eight-oxen team required considerable room to turn (199). This is specified in an agreement made in 1231, between the prior and convent of Watton and Robert de Gauz, at Dringhoe, that although Robert had given back to Watton

a disputed headland, he should still be allowed to turn his plough there at need (200). The headlands of the open fields and the small irregular pieces which were left over when the rectangular flatts were laid out, called bights, gores or butts, were used for pasture, as were the open fields when the crops had been gathered. The main pasture however lay elsewhere.

### Meadow

Meadow in medieval farming economy was always highly valued, more so than the arable land. It was usually described by its dimensions in Domesday Book, a treatment not given to arable and pasture: it is difficult to estimate its extent in Holderness in each vill in 1086, because of the composite nature of entries, but most of the Holderness villages seem to have had 20 or 30 acres, and Holderness as an area had more meadow than all the rest of the Riding put together (201). The demesne manors of the counts of Aumale had greatly increased the area of their meadows by 1260: Burstwick had then 183 acres, Ridgmont had  $102\frac{1}{2}$  acres, Wawne had 20 acres, Little Humber had  $102\frac{1}{2}$  acres, Keyingham had 226 acres, Skeffling 55 acres, Easington had 51 acres, Cleeton 80 acres. The value of the count's meadow was in many places double that of the arable: at Burstwick, Wawne, Kilnsea, Cleeton, Owthorne and Withernsea the value of the meadow land was twice that of the arable in the ratio 8d.:4d. or 10d.:5d. or (at Burstwick and Wawne) 12d.:6d. In every other demesne manor meadow was worth more than arable, except in Keyingham, where the arable was worth 12d. an acre and the meadow only 9d. (202).

Meadow was regarded as an adjunct to arable (as was pasture) so that the tenure of arable land usually entitled the tenant to meadow and pasture, to provide food for his plough animals. The hay from the meadow was particularly valuable as it provided winter food. The typical bovate included arable, meadow and pasture (203). Usually the meadow was of a measured amount, and was not held in common as was pasture (204).

It appears that some meadow in much of Holderness was enclosed at an early date. This is specifically stated between c.1175 and 1197 in Skeffling when a man granted Aumale abbey "half my meadow which is in closes in my enclosure" (205). On many other occasions meadow in the 12th and 13th centuries is referred to as being in closes: in Paull, Sutton, Rimswell, Tunstall, Ottringham, Wawne ("an enclosed plot of meadow called Newcroftes"), Out Newton, Marfleet and Danthorpe (206).

It was not however always enclosed, and is sometimes described in terms that might be applied to open field selions, as at Preston marsh, when  $1\frac{1}{2}$  stangs of meadow are described, lying between the meadow of other men (207). At Ryhill  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of meadow in Little Holme was exchanged for another  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre there: this may indicate consolidation of holdings, but not necessarily enclosure (208). There is no evidence in Holderness to show that meadow allotments or dayles were re-distributed annually, as they were in some parts of England for many centuries (209).

### Pasture

The third essential ingredient of open field agriculture was pasture. Sources of pasture land were stubble in the arable fields, after the crops were harvested until March (210), the fallow fields, the headlands and odd pieces of land found in corners of the fields, and the meadows after the hay had been cut. In addition most parishes had large areas of common grazing of rough, often marshy land in Holderness. It is possible to discern in Holderness history the extension of the villages into the marshes: in the first days after 1066 the boundaries of some villages at least were still undefined (211); as more men began to own more animals, they used more and more of the marginal lands for grazing, and from c.1235 boundaries between these areas of marsh had to be set (212). Later, at the end of the 13th century, the number of animals allowed on the common pastures was in more and more villages controlled by agreement (213), but in some areas such as North Frodingham, Bewholme, Beeford and Brandesburton, all the vills shared the pasture (in this case Brandesburton moor) and could use it for unlimited numbers of animals until the 18th century (214).

The right to graze animals in the common pasture was often proportional to a man's arable holding, so that it could be described as "belonging to arable" (215) or "belonging to 9 bovates" (216).

Pasture, like meadow, was often enclosed (217). An agreement of 1240 over pasture in Halsham describes a demesne pasture at Halsham called Yaland, which the rector of Halsham was permitted to improve with a dyke or in any other way he chose: the same document mentioned the common pasture in Halsham called "Bringinges", where the beasts of the free and the other men of Halsham had pasture according to the custom of the vill (218). Common rights in pasture were not easy to extinguish, as Meaux abbey discovered when they tried to enclose pasture in the west marsh of Sutton with a dyke, to improve it. They found that 7 bovates

of land and 15 tofts in Sutton had pasture rights in the marsh, and so the dyke could not be made, and the pales placed as a sign of the boundaries of the division of the marsh disappeared in time, and the lords of Sutton reclaimed the pasture (219). A more accommodating group of eight freeholders in Long Riston granted Robert Hildyard their rights in pastures in Thurkelholm and Angram in Riston, "so that he may enclose that place with a ditch or wall" (220).

Some of the Holderness pastures carried a great number of animals. The allotments of pasture at Sutton described above show that in Sutton in the 13th century each bovate was entitled to graze very many animals, far more, it might be supposed, than a villager would be likely to own (221). A greater landowner in possession of numerous bovates could therefore provide for very large herds or flocks, and by 1270-1280 Meaux abbey had 11,000 sheep and 1,000 beasts in Holderness (222).

### Crops

What kind of crops were grown on the Holderness fields? The earliest indication is the recorded complaint of Count Odo c.1090 that Holderness grew nothing but wild oats (223): this does not seem to be borne out by the Domesday Book evidence, which shows that Holderness had the greatest number of carucates for each square mile in the East Riding (224). Wheat was certainly being grown in the area in the 1190s, when the Meaux chronicler complained that crops were poor, so much so that one sester of wheat was sold for 20s. and one quarter for 1 mark (225). In 1202 wheat, barley and beans were being grown in or near Holderness (226). These recur later in the century and together with oats and hay, which was a crop, are the only crops mentioned before 1260 (227). Only one estate account survives from the days of the counts of Aumale, and it is extensively damaged: but it is possible to read in it of wheat, oats, malted oats (brasii de avenis braciatis), mixed corn and beans (228). An extent of the manors of Sir William Constable made in 1273 extends the list of crops and gives some indication of their value: that year at Tharlesthorpe on Constable's lands 7 acres were sown for wheat, valued at 5s. per acre, and 6 acres for oats, valued at 3s. per acre. At Halsham in the granary and in the fields there was wheat, barley, oats, beans and peas. The growing barley was worth 5s. per acre, the wheat 4s. per acre, beans 3s. and oats 2s. Much the greatest area of Constable's land in Halsham was given up to wheat (110 acres) and even then there was not enough to



feed the manor, or presumably to provide seed corn for the following season, without buying in extra grain (229).

Other crops, otherwise unrecorded, may be hinted at in the 12th-century place-names Hempholme or "hemp field", Nepeholm or "turnip field" and from the 13th century Lincroft "flax croft" (230).

### Animal husbandry

From an early date the Holderness pastures carried many sheep. Soon after its foundation in 1151 Meaux abbey acquired pasture for 800 sheep in Myton, for 860 sheep at Warter, 300 sheep at Beeford and 200 at Hatfield (231). By 1154-1160 Meaux was making money from its wool sales (232) and at the time of the collection of King Richard's ransom in 1193 the abbey was associated with the other Cistercian houses in giving up a year's wool, for it was principally for their wool that the sheep were kept (233). In the 13th century Meaux continued to add to its sheep pastures wherever possible, and by the middle of the century if not earlier Meaux was using former cow pastures for sheep (234). The Cistercians appear to have taken the lead in sheep farming, when other monastic houses such as Bridlington and Aumale were acquiring cow and horse pastures, and in this Meaux would be guided by the example of the other Yorkshire Cistercian houses. It did not take long for the other religious houses to copy: the hospital of St Sepulchre Hedon had sheep-folds in Preston and Saltaugh (235) and the hospital of Newton Garth was given a stock of 500 sheep by 1170-1175 (236). By 1217-1218 Thornton abbey was negotiating a lease of pasture for 616 sheep and 20 beasts in Sutton, Hull, Southcoates and Drypool (237). In a famous 13th-century list of English monasteries with wool for sale, Swine abbey could produce at least 8 sacks every year, and there is a reference to the abbey's storage of wool in a loft of a building north of the church of Swine called "North Crouche" before 1308 (238). By the end of the 13th century Bridlington priory had numerous flocks of sheep (239).

As Meaux abbey completed its wool contracts with the merchants by buying up wool locally, there was great incentive for other Holderness men to engage in sheep farming (240), and although the monastic houses are as usual better documented, there is no doubt that laymen too took part. John de Octon, lord of Octon, had pasture for 500 sheep at Octon in 1222(241). Many villages seem to have kept sheep, and tithes of

lambs and wool were in the 13th century of considerable importance and therefore reserved to the rectors, in Wawne and Sutton, Paull, Skipsea and Mappleton (242). The counts of Aumale had flocks of sheep to rival those of Meaux, and a great part of their income in the later 13th century came from wool (243).

The importance of the wool trade in Holderness should not obscure the fact that the Holderness pastures also carried many oxen, cows, horses and pigs. Every village plough team required oxen or horses, and there are many 12th- and 13th-century references to pastures for "large animals". As they were far more difficult to trade in than the easily-transported wool, there was little point in building up large herds. At Newton Garth the count of Aumale kept (before 1175) 500 sheep, 24 oxen to pull 3 ploughs, 6 bulls, 12 cows, 20 pigs, 100 hens and 60 geese (244): the balance is self-explanatory (except that the number of bulls seems excessive?). There was no need to have more oxen than were needed for the village, nor more pigs, hens and geese than the villagers and the lord could feed and eat. Before 1189 Bridlington priory was given pasture in Auburn for 50 cows and their calves, 30 mares and the priory's oxen (245), and at about the same time Aumale abbey had pasture for oxen at Skeffling (246). The only way in which dairy produce could be stored was to turn it into cheese, and the dairies and cheeses of Holderness are mentioned in tithe and other documents from 1115 onwards (247). Another article which could be traded was the oxhide: Meaux abbey had a master of the tannery in the 13th century (248) and a chance reference shows oxhides being exported from Hedon in 1274 (249).

Other animals occasionally mentioned in 12th- and 13th-century Holderness are pigs, geese and hens. Of lesser value, they were probably not uncommon, but rather not worth recording. There were pigs, hens and geese at Newton Garth (250), pigs at Aumale in 1115 (251), and pigs with rings in their noses are occasionally named in the stinting of pastures (252). In 1273 William Constable had at Halsham the following stock: 6 farm horses, 32 oxen, 1 bull, 21 cows, 31 stall cattle, and 9 calves, 300 sheep of different ages and an unnumbered quantity of pigs. The cattle were worth a great deal more individually than the sheep, the bull and the oxen being valued at 6s. 8d., the horses and cows at 5s., but the most valuable sheep at only 16d. (253).

### Turbaries, woods and saltpans

Subsidiary uses of land were the turbaries, woods and saltpans occasionally mentioned in the records. The marshes of the Hull valley provided many turbaries or turf-cutting areas for the villagers, who probably used turfs for building their houses, roofing them and for fuel. Some turfs were sent further afield, for a burgess of Beverley in the 13th century negotiated 22 cartloads yearly from Wawne (254). Some of the turbaries were as large as 2 acres (255), and the right to cut turf could be attached to a dwelling (256). All up the Hull valley turbaries are named, at Sutton and Bransholme in Sutton, at Eske, Leven, Arnold, Meaux, Routh and Wawne, and more surprisingly at Tunstall and Winkton, near the sea coast (257). It was not only villagers who were concerned with turbaries, the monks of Meaux and the nuns of Swine had a long dispute about them, for according to the Meaux chronicler "those nuns had often annoyed us by digging up our turfs in the marsh that is between Wawne and Swine, to our prejudice" (258). This was recorded between 1210 and 1220. A settlement was eventually reached, that no-one should take turf out of the marsh, because it spoiled the pasture (259). It was customary in parts of Holderness to move the turf by boat through the dykes (260).

There is little mention of woods in Holderness. There was wood in only four places in 1086 (in the soke of Aldbrough, at Rysome Garth in Holmpton, at Bewholme and Sutton) (261). An area of wood at Bewholme appears to have been of great importance in the economy of Nunkeeling priory. By their foundation charter the nuns received material in the wood of Bewholme for their ploughs and harrows (262). This wood, it was later defined, was to be taken at the view of the forester of the lady of the manor, Alice de St Quintin (263). About 1200 there was a further grant of wood necessary for the repair of ploughs and harrows, to be taken on four days in the year, that was, two days at Michaelmas and two days more in the first week in March, when two men were to cut the wood, one man to clear the ground, and another man to carry the wood away: the wood to be set out by the forester every year. There was also to be a man who on one day a year, having taken an oath, was to gather up the dry fuel and carry it off in baskets on his back. For this the prioress and convent agreed to feed the forester on the four days (264). These elaborate arrangements may represent the fussiness of the lady of the manor, but also seem to put a very high value on wood. In mid 13th-century a grant of wood at Catfoss was given, to mend the nuns' ploughs and harrows, with a

further right of collecting dry sticks. The complicated arrangements for wood-collecting in both Catfoss and Bewholme were re-negotiated in 1235 (265).

Other wooded areas existed around Routh, Meaux and Wawne, at Arnold, Ellerby, Sproatley and Etherdwick (266). Oak and ash are the trees mentioned. Meaux abbey cut down several woods, one being cut to build a ship for the abbey, and the monks did not seem to have been particularly anxious to acquire or preserve wood (267). In the valuations c.1260 of the count of Aumale's estates, wood is rarely mentioned and is of little value. The count and countess of Aumale do not seem to have ever employed a forester.

Salt was an essential part of the medieval economy, being used extensively to preserve meat and fish for winter. Holderness had salt-pits at Wyke in Hull between 1160 and 1172, part of which were granted to Meaux abbey (268). No mention is made thereafter of the production of salt.



### Dykes and waterways

In addition to its agricultural lands, the medieval economy of Holderness depended to some extent upon its wetlands, the meres and their borders and the marshlands. Much of the land was unsuitable for agriculture, owing to its extreme wetness, but the marshes could be turned to profit, as the rich fenlands of Lincolnshire and East Anglia show. The Domesday Book settlement pattern in Holderness indicates that settlement was densest in the areas where meres were most common, probably because these areas were better drained and more fertile than the clay soil elsewhere. The streams and dykes through the marshes provided a far more efficient means of transport than the land tracks of the drier areas. In addition, the marshlands provided a source of fish, fowls, turfs and reeds (269). They could also be used for rough pasture, and sometimes converted to arable. There was little effective drainage of Holderness until the 18th century, but the building of dykes is an interesting and well-documented aspect of Holderness before c.1260.

The word "dyke" is used in two senses in the north of England, to mean both a water-filled ditch, and also to mean an embankment or wall. The same ambiguity arises in medieval records, where "fossa" means both a ditch and a wall. In Holderness in the middle ages dykes (ditches) were cut as channels through the marshes of the Hull valley, and also dykes (walls) were built along the edges of the Humber and the Hull river to keep out the tidal water and enable land to be reclaimed. The building of the walls, while it kept back the sea water, also trapped in the fresh water coming off the land, so that ditches were made through the walls, controlled by valves where they met the tide.

For the greater part of its history much of Holderness has been marsh or swamp. A large area of the country is below sea level, and until proper defences were created against the sea, low-lying land near the coast or near the Humber and Hull was constantly flooded by spring tides. Even in the 20th century high tides bring flood warning to many parts of Holderness bordering the Humber. In its natural state Holderness resembled the Broads as they are seen today, with many lakes or meres, slow-moving and braided watercourses, and constant encroachment by the sea on the east and the south (270).

There were two great areas of marsh. One was in the Hull valley, which formed all the western boundary of Holderness, where the marsh stretched for 20 miles from the river mouth northwards nearly as far

as Driffield. The marsh was formed in the upper reaches of the valley because the slight gradient of the valley, and the meandering and overgrown streams did not allow the water which poured into the valley from the surrounding lands to escape fast enough. Instead it overflowed in wet weather to fill the whole of the valley, the depth being estimated as a few inches at the edges to more than six feet in the centre. Further south the water filling the valley was unable to escape for the same reasons, but in addition the water was backed up by the tides entering the mouth of the River Hull from the Humber. The Hull valley varied from about two to five miles in width, and occasional islands of drier land rose up above the marshes: the "holmes", a use of the word still found in Denmark (271). On some of these larger islands settlements were established before 1086, Sutton, Wawne, Meaux, Routh and Leven, but on the whole little use was made of the land before the 12th century.

In the southern plains of Holderness the marsh lay around the four streams draining into the Humber, at Hedon, Keyingham, Winestead and Easington, and was salt marsh, flooded by the sea but capable (except at very high tides or in storms) of being protected by sea walls, when it formed valuable pasture land (272). Parts of South Holderness were embanked from at least the 10th century and by 1033 there were dykes and ditches at Patrington (273), but very little of the early embanking is recorded. Small settlements grew up on the salt marshes, at Tharlesthorpe before 1086, Pethyland, Frismarsh, Pensthorpe, Orwithfleet and Sunthorpe, and it was on these rich pasture lands that many granges were established: Salthaugh, Tharlesthorpe and Ottringham which belonged to Meaux, and Little Humber belonging to the counts of Aumale (274). The sea dyke (fossatum maris) described at Ottringham in 1227 which bordered "Newland" was probably a defence against the sea (275), and there were dykes at Paull Holme by 1201; the dyke of Fulk de Oyry and the dyke of Gislebert or Gilbert de Paull are named (276). The whole of the South Holderness coast was eventually protected by a series of walls, enabling the land behind them to be reclaimed from marsh to pasture and to arable. Many of the sea walls (which were made up of "cords") were described in a great survey made in 1367 of the dykes of Holderness (277). At a later date, and perhaps in the 12th and 13th centuries too, although there is no evidence, defensive measures against the Humber were discussed and decided in the wapentake court of Holderness (278). Much of the land reclaimed in South Holderness was subsequently lost in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, including the townships of Tharlesthorpe, Frismarsh, Sunthorpe, Pensthorpe and Orwithfleet (279). Salthaugh grange

had to be moved in the 12th century from Old Salthaugh to West Salthaugh because of the constant flooding (280), and Tharlesthorpe grange was flooded in 1256 and subsequent years, and was finally covered by the sea in the 14th century (281). Both these granges belonged to Meaux abbey.

Much more is known of the dykes in the Hull valley than those of South Holderness. There is some evidence that the Danes were concerned in diverting water courses in the East Riding before 1086 (282), but it is not until the middle of the 12th century that there is much information about the making or altering of waterways in Holderness.

The first and most simple motive for making a dyke was to form a property boundary in a wet low-lying land such as Holderness with no natural stone to make walls and little wood to make fences. These "fence-ditches" occur very often in the archives, describing the boundaries of a croft, a meadow or a grange. Between 1144 and 1154 the nuns of Killing made a dyke to surround their croft at Bewholme (283). The archaeological remains of the early 12th-century grange sites of Meaux show that an early stage in the reclamation of the estates was to dig the moat of the initial building site and to consolidate a platform within it (284). In 1218 a sheepfold was "endyked" by the monks of Meaux (285) and about the same time a close in Frismarsh was described as "within the dyke made around the close" (286). In 1253 the vicarage at Mappleton was surrounded by a dyke (287) and meadow at Sproatley was bounded by an ancient ditch (288). In Nunkeeling a dyke divided the open fields from the marsh (289) and in Ellerby in 1234 a dyke divided the open field from the wood (290). Dykes such as those described in the last two examples, as well as forming a boundary, kept stock in (or out) of the pasture and common field, and this was recognised by their builders (291). More considerable works were the dyke between Wawne and Sutton, built as a fixed boundary between 1221 and 1235, probably to help resolve pasture disputes in the marsh or carrs (292) and the new dyke built between Brandesburton and Heigholme on behalf of the justices of the assize to fix the boundary (293).

A natural extension of the "fence-ditches" was to use them to form enclosures: two mid-13th-century agreements allow a land-holder to enclose pasture with a ditch "or in any way which seems better, to improve it...", a phrase that foreshadows the phrases of 18th-century enclosure acts (294).

It is widely supposed that man-made channels in marshy districts in the middle ages were made primarily for land drainage: but this was not the case in Holderness, where drainage was merely a by-product of water courses made either for fence-ditches, or, the second main reason for their creation, to improve communications. The side effect

of the dyke, that drainage improved, was recognised by the dyke-builders, but it was not their principal motive (295). The dykes made by Meaux abbey, about which most is known, were cut east-west, across the line of the natural flow of water and across a ridge of boulder clay, to connect the abbey with the River Hull and so with the Humber. The Foredyke was partially created to be a boundary between Sutton and Wawne, but from the first recorded agreement for establishing the dyke, all parties concerned were to have boats on it (296). Ashdyke too linked the abbey of Meaux to the Hull, and was built between 1160 and 1182 specifically to convey the abbey's essential goods (297). Monkdyke was built primarily for the abbey, but the families of Fauconberg and Rowton were included in those allowed to enjoy navigation rights (298); part of the same dyke was used in the 13th century by the Scrutevilles to carry turfs from their marsh turbary (299). The formation of Wythdyke aggrieved the provost of Beverley minster (at that time the powerful pluralist Fulk Basset) because it diverted waters from his lands and meant that his ships could no longer go up to his manor of Leven (300). When John de Octon gave Bridlington priory the fishery of Mickley dyke c.1200-1226, he reserved the right of way for himself along the dyke, and also gave the canons another waterway as well. The Octon family first leased the canons of Bridlington marsh and firm ground at Witheland in Hallytreeholme, and allowed the canons to make a trench (*trencata*) in the marsh, and subsequently granted the canons the marsh and the dyke enclosing it, with "a fishery in the Hull called Hermergarth and the fishery of Prestegote, and all the fishery from Mickley fleet as far as the Hull, saving for Octon and his men a road through the fleet, and also granted that the canons and their men might go and return, freely and quietly, from the land of the moor by Octon's fleet which is called Reules, as far as Hallytreeholme" (301). Another dyke in the neighbourhood, from Brandesburton and Heigholme to the Hull, was said in 1210-1220 to be both for fishing and for carrying goods (302).

The establishment of granges by the religious houses of Meaux, Bridlington and Swine in the Hull valley around Wawne and Leven led to increased traffic on waterways, and as the dykes were intended for transport, in some cases (such as the formation of Monkdyke) the diversion of the waters increased rather than diminished the risk of flooding (303). The dykes came in due course to have an increased importance as drains (for the old watercourses silted up through disuse) but in the later



middle ages and afterwards the east-west direction of the cuts led to many problems for the commissioners of sewers (304). Although there were some changes in the pattern of watercourses in medieval Holderness, there was very little change in the condition of the carrs which still flooded annually until the 18th century.

The use of streams for communications meant that (as the boats had to be dragged against the wind if it was unfavourable) there must be towpaths beside the water, and such towpaths are mentioned in dyke-making agreements from 1197 onwards, sometimes on both sides of the waterway, sometimes only on one side (305). Bridges across the navigable channels had to be prescribed heights, either high enough for small boats without prows, or higher still for ships (306).

In the south marshlands of Holderness, channels were made to improve the small harbours that lay along the Humber coast: Hedon haven and the fleets at Patrington, Ottringham, Preston and Paull (307). By the beginning of the 14th century and probably earlier dykes joined Burstwick to the fleet at Hedon. At Hedon itself the fleet was improved to form a harbour (308).

The counts' dykes were built earlier than the more considerable (and better recorded) dykes of the monks of Meaux, Bridlington and the nuns of Swine and Nunkeeling. The age of the "Earl's dyke" which forms the northern boundary of Holderness is unknown, but it probably predates the counts of Aumale, because it forms the wapentake boundary. It may record the time of Earl Morcar, and may have been constructed as a defence or even to form the wapentake boundary in the Danish era. It is first named between 1185 and 1195 as fossa comitis, and called le Erledyke a few years later (309). Whichever earl it commemorates, it was built by a layman and not by monks. It was a wide dyke, suitable for a defence, being 20 foot broad and 6 foot deep (310).

When Meaux abbey was founded in 1151 the count had already begun to make a dyke around the abbey site, and had built the western part of it, which was called then and afterwards Parkdyke, for he had intended to turn the site into a game preserve (311). Here the fence-ditch motive was evidently the prevailing one. Another of the count's ditches is mentioned 1150-1160 as part of the boundary between Wawne and Swine (312). The same count, William le Gros, made a dyke at Langthorpe in Swine about 1150 (313).

Later counts of Aumale repaired dykes on their lands and built new ones, at Marton and at Withernwick in the 1230s (314). The dyke at Withernwick was probably to improve the fishery there.

The waterway of greatest interest to the counts of Aumale would be that between Burstwick and Hedon. It seems obvious that this would be made navigable about the mid 12th century when Hedon was created a borough, or at the time the count's principal residence was moved from Skipsea to Burstwick (which was probably before 1200) (315). This must remain a conjecture, for there is no evidence of the existence of the dyke between Burstwick and Hedon until 1312. It was part of the Humbleton beck, which like most of the watercourses of Holderness has been altered by drainage improvements. It is possible in the record of the 1367 inquisition into the dykes of Holderness to follow the course of the Humbleton beck from Flinton to the Humber, through different parishes (to many of which it formed the boundary) and under different names, until it reached the Humber at Hedon. From Burstwick onwards it was called the Scurth dyke (316), until it reached a place called "Parraknocke" (probably Park Nook, meaning the sharp angle in the eastern boundary of Burstwick South Park), where it divided into two streams, one being Parkdyke which ran by Ryhill, Thorngumbald and Stockholm to Hedon fleet, and the other being Ranehokedyke which similarly joined the fleet, but by a different route. Of these waterways Parkdyke, which was 20 foot wide and 10 foot deep, was the largest, but the dimensions of the other dykes (16 foot or 18 foot by 6 foot deep) suggest that they also were important communication routes (317).

Some idea of the cost of making dykes can be gained from the countess of Aumale's account roll for 1264-1265: at Keyingham, under the heading of "Non-essential expenses" there is an entry "180 perches of an old dyke at Marscote dykes repaired and enlarged, 11s. 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. per perch. For 24 perches of a new dyke made at la Grene 4s. 2d. a perch" (318). The countess's account rolls contain many references to work on sea walls and land dykes.

The countess of Aumale is known to have had her own galley, on which 56s. 8d. was expended in 1262-1263 in timber and nails for repairs. Such ships could be used between Hedon and Burstwick (319). Meaux abbey too at this time had large boats, including one called Benedict, as well as the small boats without prows used up-country. The Benedict was built from the abbey's own trees, and was valued with all her tackles and gear at 200 marks and more (320).

The counts' officials made dykes of their own: Henry de Cheshunt at Skipsea in 1246 (321), the Constables at Halsham and at Ellerby (322). The Twyer family, members of the counts' household, gave their name to a dyke near Hedon (323) and the Nuthill family, who provided successions of chamberlains for the counts, had built a dyke at Sproatley by the late 13th century (324). Fulk de Oyry, the greatest of the counts' officials, was deeply involved in dyke-making for land reclamation in the area around Spalding, Lincolnshire, but he also built dykes in South Holderness (325).

Other laymen built dykes in Holderness, including the Fauconbergs at Arnold (326), Gilbert de Paull at Paull Holme (327) and John de Octon at Octon (328). Dykes could be transferred from one man to another like any piece of real estate, and there is a record of a feoffment of a dyke at Rimswell in the early 13th century, and another in 1283 at Nuthill (329). The arrangements made to build and maintain a dyke suggest a considerable degree of social organisation.

All the religious houses appear to have been interested in dyke-building. Bridlington made dykes around Hallytreeholme in Leven, one being described as "the foss which encloses the marsh, which the canons made when they held the marsh at farm" (330). In the same locality was the Mickley dyke, first mentioned in the 12th century, and John de Octon's fleet to Hallytreeholme called "Reules" (331). There were also many small interconnected drains, of great complexity. Swine abbey had dykes near Fairholme grange in Benningholme, and one which went almost to Swine itself (332). Nunkeeling's only named dyke seems to have been a fence-ditch around their property, and Beverley minster's only recorded interest was in the waterway to Leven (333). The most elaborate and best dykes are those that were built by the Cistercians at Meaux.

Meaux abbey was founded on one of the higher pieces of land that lay in the Hull valley, and quickly acquired other lands (on some of which the monks founded granges) in the valley. To some of their granges the only practicable method of travel for much of the year was by boat, and waterways were needed both to supply the granges and also to remove the surplus produce, either for the abbey or for sale. The monks cut a number of channels or enlarged existing streams to gain access to the Hull and the Humber, the principal ones being Ashdyke, Foredyke and Monkdyke.

The first of these dykes was Ashdyke, which was begun between 1160 and 1182, within the first thirty years of the abbey's existence, to provide communication between the abbey and the river Hull (334). Down this dyke went the abbey's goods destined for English and Continental

markets, principally wool and leather: up it came such things as stone to make the abbey's buildings and lead for the roofs. Monkdyke and Foredyke were made by diverting the Lambwath. The Lambwath stream rises near the sea coast at Aldbrough, and runs east-west across the whole of Holderness to run into the Hull, the only Holderness stream to travel so far in this direction. The course of the stream is an ancient one, because it forms the division between the middle and south hundreds of Holderness and also for much of its course acts as a boundary to the parishes it passes (335). As an east-west stream passing near the abbey of Meaux, it was natural for the monks to divert the Lambwath to come even nearer, for it could provide a source of fresh water for their needs, a source of power to work the abbey mills and a route to the Hull. They took part of the water into the Foredyke and part into Monkdyke, forcing the water north and west to the abbey by a route now lost (336).

The great dykes built by Meaux were of considerable size: Foredyke was 16 foot wide and 6 foot deep, Monkdyke was 20 foot wide (337) and other dykes in Holderness were described in the 13th century as being 8, 10, 12 and 14 feet wide (338). Sometimes there were two ditches close together, one to cope with the overflow of water from the larger: there was a double ditch between Routh and Meaux (339), a counterdyke 5 or 6 foot wide next Wythedyke "for the retention of the water" and an external dyke near Foredyke (340). Of the clows that kept the water in the dykes when the tide was rising in the Hull, little is known beyond that they were built of wood (341). They were replaced by more sophisticated valves, and in the 17th century windmills were added to pump the water from one dyke to another (342).

Another motive which drove men to alter waterways was to provide power for watermills, of which there were many in Holderness. Mills at Beeford, Skerne, Sutton, Meaux, Catwick, Tunstall, West Hatfield and Wawne are mentioned in the Meaux chronicle (343); Catwick mill was mentioned in Domesday Book as was the Long Riston mill (344). Punda in Skeffling, Ottringham and Preston had mills in the 12th century (345) and in the 13th century there were mills at Ottringham marsh, Sutton, Tunstall, Bransholme, Arnold, Paull, Brandesburton and Ellerby (346). These are thought to have been watermills, because windmills were usually specified: thus at Brandesburton in 1223 there was one mill and one windmill (347). Probably many others existed but were not recorded. Early watermills were insubstantial structures, frequently moved from one site to another, but always controlled by the lords of the



manors: in the 12th century the count of Aumale granted Simon de Skeffling permission to move his mill next to the Humber, wherever he wished, to a better position on the same fleet without licence from the count's steward (348).

To provide water for their mills was certainly one of the motives of Meaux abbey's dyke-making, and doubtless (although it is unrecorded) for lay mill-owners too. The mill inside the abbey precincts of Meaux failed in the mid 13th century because the waters of the Lambwath contained in Monkdyke which worked it burst their banks and lost their driving power. The abbot therefore built a new mill at the end of Ashdyke on the Hull, so that the water would at least work that, even if it failed to turn the abbey mill. Next to the mill a windmill was also established, so that one miller could work both mills, and the grain for the abbey could be worked by two methods. However the water-mill on Ashdyke too was ineffective for lack of head of water, and the miller found that he could only work the mill in summer by allowing the turgid water from the Hull to pass through the sluices into the dyke, and then allowing it to fall back into the Hull again (349). The Hull water however deposited so much mud in the dyke that it had to be cleaned out every tenth year at great expense, and the system also led to flooding further up the dyke (350). Considering the gentle gradient of the Holderness waterways, it is likely that many watermills there had similar problems (351).

## Fish and fisheries

Closely connected with the creation of dykes and watercourses in Holderness was the establishment of many fisheries. Fisheries and fish always played an important part in the economy of medieval Holderness and of medieval Europe generally. Apart from its usefulness as a source of protein, particularly in winter when meat was scarce, the church allowed men to eat fish on fast days, that is every Friday and all of the 40 days of Lent. The Cistercians, in their early days of strict observance of the Rule, ate no meat at all (352), and the Cistercians of Meaux played a major part in establishing the fisheries of Holderness. But other lay families also, the counts of Aumale themselves, the Suttons of Sutton on Hull, the Lascelles family at Hornsea, the Constables and the Taluns of Kelk, established and maintained fisheries for their own households. In the Humber borough of Ravenser Odd preserved herrings played an important part in the town's trade (353).

Apart from those fish caught in the sea, there were two kinds of fisheries, those in static water, either in natural or artificial ponds, and those that lay in the rivers, streams and dykes of Holderness.

The fisheries provided bream, pikerel or pike (354), and vast quantities of eels; the Sutton family's rent to the counts of Aumale for their lands at Sutton on Hull was 4,000 eels a year (355) and such rents were not uncommon in the East Riding. Beverley had a fishery at the time of Domesday Book, which had a render of 7,000 eels, and 11 fisheries at nearby Leconfield provided 6,400 eels (356). Even in the 1970s after the many alterations in watercourses that have taken place in Holderness through navigation acts, modern drainage channels and other water-board activities, on a clear day the streams of Holderness can be seen to be full of eels.

The first fisheries to be mentioned in Holderness are the three fisheries at Frodingham recorded in Domesday Book (357). Frodingham is a village at the junctions of Frodingham beck and the old River Hull, which was bypassed by the Driffield Navigation Act in the 18th century. No other river or mere fisheries are mentioned in Domesday Book, possibly because the commissioners did not ask about them, or did not record them: it is likely that other fisheries existed in 1086. No sea fishing is mentioned in Domesday Book from the Holderness coasts.

There were both river and mere fisheries in 12th- and 13th- century Holderness. Only one artificially created pond is recorded, that made by

Abbot Michael of Meaux at Meaux between 1235 and 1249 (358). Before the draining of Holderness there were numerous meres in the flat marshy land, some only ponds, some as large as lakes, the biggest being at Hornsea (359).

The counts of Aumale had meres stocked with fish at Skipsea, Withernsea, Pidsea, Lambwath in Withernwick and Withow Hole in Skipsea. Pidsea was shared with the Ros family (360). From these meres the counts' household or favoured friends were provided with fish (361). The fisheries were in the charge of the warreners or water bailiffs (362) and poaching charges were brought against men who fished in the counts' ponds. In 1231 a local man was taken to court because he was found at the fishpond with nets and 2 fishes (363). In 1230-1231 William de Forz II was involved in a complicated lawsuit over the Lambwath fishpond, because it lay among Fauconberg land. Peter de Fauconberg claimed to own two islands in the mere, and Richard, the count's warrener and another, mowed the grass on the islands for their horses. The count had also made a dyke there, presumably to improve the mere (364). In 1270 it was reported that many people had trespassed in the Aumale fisheries, breaking the sluices of tanks and stews, and carrying away fish (365). In addition to the fish of his own meres, the count of Aumale received a rent of 4,000 eels from the Suttons of Sutton on Hull, reckoned by 1260 to be worth 24s. a year (366) and collected from both the river Hull and the mere at Sutton (367). Such a vast quantity of eels must have been preserved either by smoke or salt, and must have lasted the count's household many weeks.

Other Holderness meres which held fish were at Sproatley, belonging to the Ver family (368), at Bransholme and at Swine, belonging to the nuns of Swine (369). But the most famous and most fiercely contested piece of water in Holderness was the great mere of Hornsea, still surviving today as the largest natural lake in Yorkshire, once even larger (370). There were other meres around Hornsea, Hornsea Burton, Wassand and Seaton meres all being mentioned in the 13th century (371).

Fishponds were like pastures, in that there were both demesne fisheries (those of the counts for example) and fisheries in which men had common rights, as at Sutton. The main cause of the disputes over Hornsea, Hornsea Burton, Wassand and Seaton meres was that the fishing had once been held in common by the tenants of the vills around the water, in the same way that pasture was held in common by the

freemen of a vill. The equivalent of one "gate" for a beast on common land was the right to have one seine net (sagena) in the mere (372). Over the years the common rights in the fishponds had been whittled away. The Lascelles family claimed a right of fishing in the meres around Hornsea from the time of King John: the Hatfield family and the Wassand family (both from neighbouring vills) also claimed rights, as did the Ros family and the abbot of Meaux. The Spineto family from Hornsea Burton claimed rights in the meres before 1122 (373). But the fishing rights, in spite of the claims of the neighbouring landholders, were not considered by the counts of Aumale to be communal, and the counts granted them to the abbot of St Mary's York, together with the manor of Hornsea, in the 11th century (374). Thereafter the other freemen who lived around the meres could only fish by licence of the abbot of St Mary's York, and not by right; an exercise of prerogative that led to many disputes. The Ros family were allowed a boat on Hornsea mere, and a "logia" on the bank, by grace and favour of the abbot between c.1135 and 1150 (375), and this was defined more closely in 1208 to mean that the head of the Ros family, his wife and his heirs and their wives could have a small boat on the mere and fish there themselves, but only when they stayed in their Holderness lands or at nearby Garton on the Wolds. They were not to sell or waste the fish (376). The cartulary of St Mary's York contains many similar, but less detailed agreements over the fishing (377).

In the 1250s, the fishing disputes over the mere came to a head in a celebrated encounter between the abbey of St Mary's York and the abbey of Meaux. Meaux claimed "common of fishery" (communa piscationis) as pertaining to a free tenement in Seaton. Two duels were fought in the course of this case, as the abbots chose the old-fashioned method of trial by battle. The first duel was terminated by an agreement made while the battle was actually being waged, but the agreement was subsequently broken. The new dispute was again committed to a duel between two men. As described by the Meaux chronicler "we retained at great expense seven champions with horses and their servants hired at out cost...". Juries disagreed about which part of the mere belonged to the abbeys, and the boundary was temporarily fixed by a man swimming across the mere on a horse, being followed by small boats from which stakes were fixed in the mere bed. Subsequently the duel was fought at



York, from early morning until evening, the Meaux champion gradually weakening. The judge, Roger de Thirkleby, who favoured Meaux, tricked the champions into breaking off the duel, and an agreement was made. St Mary's York kept the fishing rights (378).

The method of fishing in the meres was evidently by small boat or by net (379). Large pike are still found in Hornsea mere, and remains of pike were found in the former eastern mere now lost to the sea (380). In the 19th century the mere contained pike, perch, eels and roach (381). In streams and dykes, fishing was by net, dragnet or fishtrap (382).

In addition to the mere fisheries, there were many fisheries in the rivers, streams and dykes of Holderness. The abbot of Meaux was careful to reserve or acquire fishing rights in any watercourse in which the abbey had an interest. In the very first days of the abbey's existence, it was given 10 fisheries in the River Hull, probably at Cottingham (383). Elsewhere on the same river the abbey acquired fisheries at Skerne (384) and between Wawne and Sutton (385). On the artificially created dykes of Wythedyke, Foredyke, Monkdyke and the boundary dyke between Heigholme and Brandesburton marsh Meaux reserved fishing rights (386). Between 1197 and 1210 the monks were granted the water rights of the dyke from "Turkylholm" to Brackenholme in Riston, but the donors, lords of Riston, reserved the right to retain a fishery with nets and fishtraps (387). In addition Meaux had the site of a fishery on the Humber, probably at Myton, now part of Hull, and another where the dyke dividing Wawne and Sutton entered the Hull (388).

At the end of the 12th century the canons of Bridlington had several fisheries in the Hull at or near Hallytreholme, two being named as "Hermergarth" and Prestegote" (389), and all the fishing in Mickley dyke (390). The nuns of Swine had a fishery nearby in the Hull (391). On the Old Howe (one of the sources of the Hull) at Beeford, the canons of Bridlington had a fishery in the 13th century, and a layman who had made a nearby fishery for himself gave it up to the canons, for it harmed their fishery (392). Other fisheries are known because monastic houses had tithes of fish: at Hornsea, St Mary's York had the tithes of fish from the 11th century (393) and at Paull the vicar appointed by the abbey of Aumale had in the 13th century the tithes of the Humber fish (394).

Among the laymen, apart from the counts themselves with their four and a half meres in 1260, the Sutton family was the most concerned with

the fish trade. Every St Andrew's day they paid a rent of 4,000 eels for their lands at Sutton on Hull or money in lieu. The Suttons and their tenants had unlimited numbers of fisheries established along the banks of the River Hull on both sides, but were obliged to leave a clear channel of 24 feet in midstream so that the archbishop and his men of Beverley could have free passage up and down the river (395). In addition to the river fisheries, the Suttons had a mere at Sutton,, but it was not a demesne fishery reserved for the Sutton family only, but one in which many other people (at least 16 in 1246) had the right to fish, by reason of their tenure of land in the vill. This mere was fished by boat, and was the location of a considerable disturbance over the fishing rights in 1246 (396).

The Constable family had a fishery in the dyke around Ellerby by agreement made with the St Quintins in 1234 (397). The Taluns of Kelk had all the fisheries at Hull Bridge (398) and in 1220-1221 John de Meaux and William de St Lucy had fishing rights in the dyke between Wawne and Sutton (399).

Obviously fish and fisheries played a considerable part in the economy of Holderness in the 12th and 13th centuries; both church and laymen pursued their rights tenaciously. The only indication given of the value of the Holderness fisheries is contained in the inquisition post mortem of Count William de Forz III. The fishery of eels at Pidsea was worth 5s. and at Lambwath (including the reeds) 13s. 4d; the fishery of eels at Withernsea mere 6s. 8d.; the fishery of eels at Skipsea and Withow in Skipsea 10s. In the same inquisition a rent of 4,000 eels was valued at 24s., perhaps the greater sum is because they were caught, cured and delivered (400).

## Boroughs

The three boroughs of medieval Holderness, Hedon, Skipsea and Ravenser Odd, were in their early days counted as parts of the counts' demesnes; founded and encouraged by them, their prosperity increased the counts' and their existence provided a useful outlet for the surplus from the counts' manors, and a source of goods for their household.

Of the three, Skipsea was the least successful. Its site was in the north of Holderness, under the shadow of the great motte and bailey castle of the first counts. Its existence is still recorded in the name Skipsea Brough. It is first referred to between 1160 and 1175 as "burgo castelli de Skipse" (401) and may be assumed to have been a foundation of Count William le Gros. Almost nothing is known of the borough: in 1260 there were only three burgage plots here, each paying 4d. a year to the count, as part of his demesne manor of Skipsea and Cleeton (402). One of the burgage tenants was a fuller, and no other hint exists as to the trade, such as it was, of Skipsea borough. The 1260 extents of the lands of the count also include a reference to ten tofts, apparently untenanted, at the "Newhithe" or new landing place, which rendered 2s. each, and possibly this was the reason for the borough, that there should be a port of Skipsea (403). In the late 13th century Thomas de Dunsley, who was one of the wapentake serjeants (404), granted Bridlington priory 2s. from a toft in the borough of the castle of Skipsea (405). The borough had no recorded royal charter, and its plantation must be deemed a failure (406).

Possibly Skipsea borough owed its existence to water-borne trade; there is no doubt at all that this was the reason for the other two boroughs, Ravenser Odd and Hedon.

Ravenser Odd lay in the mouth of the Humber at Spurn Point. It was originally joined to the mainland by a track of yellow shingle, but the causeway was breached by the sea, possibly in the great storm of 1256, and thereafter Ravenser Odd was an island (407).

The origins of the island are graphically described in a government inquisition. About the year 1235 by the action of the sea, sand and stones accumulated at the tip of the Spurn peninsula, and on this piece of land men began first to dry their nets and then to live. A ship was wrecked on the headland, and an entrepreneur made himself a cabin out of the wreck and "received there ships and merchants, and sold them meat and drink, and afterwards others began to live there" (408).

Between 1241 and 1249 Ravenser Odd was first described as a borough,

when William de Forz III, count of Aumale, gave Meaux abbey half an acre of land "in the borough of Odd near Ravenser" with burghal privileges there (409). About its borough status there was evidently some doubt, for in the 1270s the men of Holderness complained that the men of Ravenser Odd distrained for their debts as if it was a borough, and the countess of Aumale held a court there as in a borough, and her bailiff Robert Hildyard took toll of ships and their goods at Ravenser Odd (410).

The new town was a seigneurial borough for some time, for although it had burgage plots, and exercised borough privileges, it did not have until the very end of the 13th century a royal charter. It was very unpopular with the other Humber ports, because the men of the town went out with their little boats into the sea and persuaded, by fair means or foul, the merchantmen entering the Humber to take their goods to Odd rather than to the other ports, especially Grimsby, which they slandered vigorously, Hedon or Hull (411). The merchantmen were not unwilling to go to Ravenser Odd, because it was much nearer the sea than the other ports, and a better harbour. The countess's bailiffs irritated merchants from other towns: in 1265 William de la Twyer seized a ship at Ravenser Odd, as the countess's bailiff, ostensibly because he found a German with swords and arms in the ship, and he also confiscated the goods of some Hull merchants, who complained to the king that he had denied them justice (412).

In 1299 the borough bought a charter from the king and gained respectability (413). It defeated the attempts of the other ports to suppress it, but the sea proved a more powerful enemy. The borough prospered for a while, its payments to the lords of Holderness increasing annually. But by 1346 the town was in serious trouble, the houses and land being destroyed by the sea, and "daily diminishing". Many of the merchants moved elsewhere, to Hull in particular (414). Once the sea started to break in, the townsmen were powerless, and between 1356 and 1367 the island was completely destroyed, the waves swirling over the place where the borough once stood (415).

In spite of not having a royal charter until 1299, Ravenser Odd seems to have been organised as a borough from its early days. First mentioned in the 1240s, in 1251 William de Forz III was granted by the



king a weekly market and a September fair of 15 days in his manor of Ravenser Odd (416). By the 1260s the town had a mayor and a court, both paying money to the countess.

The town's trade seems to have been largely in fish. The first grant by the count in Ravenser Odd that is recorded was to Meaux abbey of land on which to put up buildings for the storing of herrings and other kinds of fish (417). Herring were sold to the countess of Aumale by the thousand in the 1260s and 1270s (418). Fish, especially herring, are often mentioned in the complaints brought by the other Humber ports against Ravenser Odd (419). Rent from tanneries also forms part of the amounts paid by the island town to the countess of Aumale in the 1260s (420). At Ravenser Odd, as at Hedon, many religious houses acquired property; Thornton, St Leonard's York, Swine and Meaux all had interests in the town (421).

Before the justices in eyre of 1293 the attorney for Isabella countess of Aumale claimed jurisdiction over her tenants at Ravenser: she claimed the assizes of bread and ale, pillory, tumbril, gallows, infangetheof and the rights of the sacrabar (422). Of these claims the mention of the sacrabar is the most unusual (423).

In 1260 Ravenser Odd was twice valued for the crown, once in connection with the death of the last count and once in the assignment of dower to his countess. The first valuation amounted to £6 9s. 4d., and the second £29 9s. 5d. The burgesses were not tallaged every year as they were at Hedon, and this made the borough an attractive place for merchants. In both valuations the windmill, the tanhouse and the court were mentioned: in the higher the burgage rents and the tolls of market and fair as well (424). These were the sources of the count's income from a borough, and the income, even at the higher valuation, was small in comparison with that of the demesne farms.

The third and most important of the boroughs was Hedon. Fortunate in its archives and in its historians, much is known of its history from the time of its 12th-century foundation (425). Hedon began with a settlement on a river, probably at its highest navigable point. The streams or fleets entering the Humber from Holderness were all used as small havens in the middle ages and later, as the scouring action of the streams kept the havens deep enough for boats to lie close to the land (426). The river at Hedon provided two such havens, one at Paull at the mouth of the river, and one higher up, where the borough of Hedon was to grow.

The first mention of Hedon was in 1115, when Stephen count of

Aumale granted the monks of Aumale a hospice on the banks of the river Hedon, and free passage across the Humber (427). Fortunately the site of this hospice is known, for a 13th-century survey of the possessions of Aumale abbey describes it as "a toft from the gift of Count Stephen our founder, on the fleet of the town between the town ditch and the brewhouse nearest to Magdalene, where the potters used to dwell, held in free burgage" (428). A grant in the middle of the 12th century from Count William le Gros to the nuns of Nun Cotham of a toft at Paull Haven connects the two places of Paull and Hedon very closely, allowing the nuns to sail to and from the count's haven of Paull and Hedon without paying any dues (429). At that time it seems as if the count treated the river as one harbour, including both places. In 1260 the profits of Paull Fleet were included in those of Hedon (430) and in 1262-1263 the profits of the ferry (45s. 3d.) are entered after the payments of the bailiff of Hedon (431). From Paull sailed the ferry to Skitter in Lindsey, and it was probably from this beginning that the upstream town of Hedon grew (432).

Before the Norman Conquest the secular manors of Holderness had been owned by many different men, but by 1086 they were all united in one hand, and the difficulty of travelling to and from, as well as within, Holderness, must have become more apparent to those with the power to do something to improve it. For the counts who held Holderness from the Crown also owned great tracts of land in Lincolnshire and in Normandy, and if their manner of living was a lesser copy of the king's life, they must have travelled ceaselessly around their lands. Some of the produce of their estates was collected in England and sent to the counts in Normandy (433). The Norman conquerors gave lands and tithes from their English lands to Norman and French abbeys, so that another powerful section of the community became interested in transport. Some English monasteries expanded, others were founded, and all continued to acquire new possessions; the monks of St Leonard's York needed to concentrate and transport their corn from Holderness to York (434), and the abbeys of Aumale, Thornton and Kirkham all had tithes and other produce to bring home from Holderness.

There were no towns in Domesday Holderness, and the nearest places of any size were Beverley to the west, Grimsby to the south and Scarborough far away to the north. Beverley and Grimsby could only be

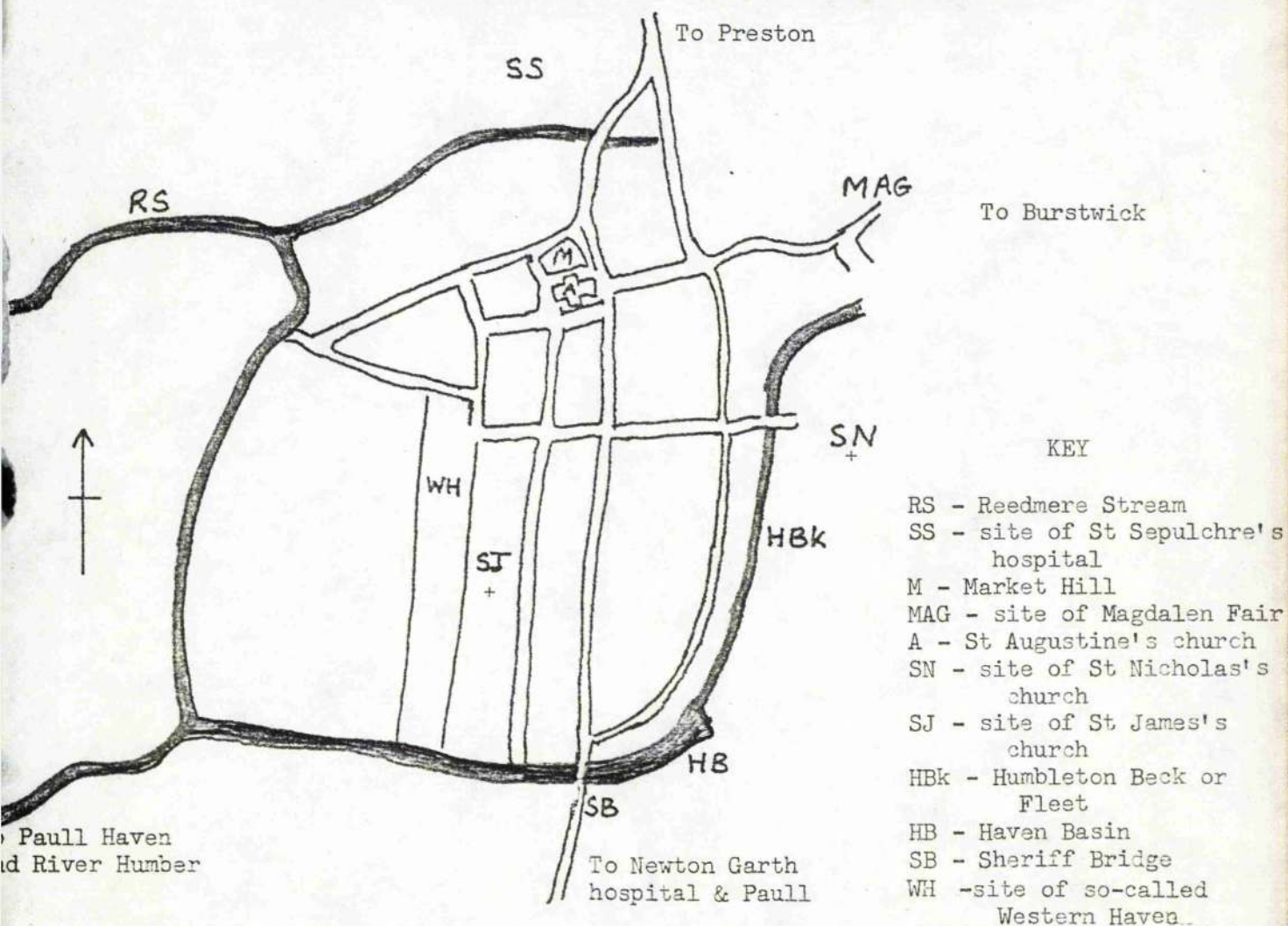
reached from Holderness by crossing water, the Hull or the Humber. Travel by water was the easiest and quickest way of travelling in and out of Holderness, but without a port the country was isolated.

The 12th century was the great age for the planting of new towns. In the Humber estuary these took the form of ports, and by c.1200 every sizeable river entering the Humber from the Yorkshire or Lincolnshire coast had its port (435). The first mention of Hedon in 1115 admirably illustrates the relationship between the rivers of the Humber and the new ports. It cannot be assumed from the 1115 documents that there was already a town at Hedon (for the monks may have had the only house there) but it seems certain that by this early date the importance of the site was recognised. It was the only river estuary the count of Aumale could use to develop a town and harbour, for the smaller Patrington channel to the east belonged to the archbishop, and as for the larger river Hull to the west of Hedon, only the east bank belonged to the count. The river Hedon was also very convenient for the count's demesne lands, which lay for the most part around Burstwick in South Holderness. Between Burstwick and Hedon there was, or was created, a navigable channel (436).

The town of Hedon is first named between 1138 and 1143, when William count of Aumale granted the hospital of St Leonard, York, a toft in the town and one mark from his toll of the town, to be paid every Michaelmas by the count's sheriff at York (437). A grant made at the same time to the same hospital reveals that the brethren of the hospital asked for the toft so that they would have a collecting place for their corn and other alms given to them, and as a place for their collectors to stay. The brethren and their men were to pay no geld or aids, and were to have free passage for all their boats and carts (438). Although this is the first mention of Hedon as a town, it must have by 1138-1143 already existed for some years, and have paid some annual sum to the count, geld and aids (439).

The original town of Hedon is thought to have been laid out at the southern end of the parish of Preston. The oldest part of the town, the market place, the court house and the principal churches, which were always the focal point of the town, lie on land which must have





13. Aerial photograph of Hedon (top) (Cambridge University) and diagram based on the map to show some of the medieval survivals. The west-east road and the straight drain at the bottom of the photograph are modern



once belonged to Preston. Almost certainly the Humbleton beck formed the boundary between the parishes of Preston and Burstwick before the town of Hedon was made (440). When the town was laid out on the west side of the beck, where it runs north and south, it was comparatively easy to complete the natural moat around the town by digging a channel between the Reedmere stream to the west of the town and the beck. This dyke or moat is mentioned in a grant to St Sepulchre's hospital, Hedon (441). On the island thus formed the new town was laid out, with streets in the rectangular grid pattern typical of 12th-century new towns, which can still be seen in Iveson's 1804 plan of Hedon (442).

The most important feature of Hedon was its harbour by which nearly all goods must enter and leave the town, the whole reason for the town's existence. The river Hedon itself formed a harbour where it ran east-west, and possibly it was widened and deepened. Part of the river here is still marked on 20th-century Ordnance Survey maps as "Haven Basin" and riverside buildings are called Harbour farm and Haven side house, although it is centuries since the Hedon was deep enough to act as a harbour. The stream which ran into the Hedon at right angles, the last section of the Humbleton beck, which was called the Fleet, does not seem to have been considered as part of the harbour space of the town, although it was navigable as far upstream as Burstwick

There is now considerable doubt about the so-called eastern and western havens of Hedon. First shown on a 17th-century plan (443) and believed by 19th-century historians to be artificial harbours made at right angles to the original haven, it has now been shown that the inner banks of the earthworks (which survived until the 20th century as silted up moats) were higher than the outer banks, the usual formation for a moat and a defensive wall, and not like the earthworks of old harbours, where one would expect to find also earthworks of associated buildings (444). The document describing Aumale abbey's toft, cited above (445), confirms that the "eastern haven" was at that time at least the town ditch.

It is often possible to see in town plans the regular rectangular patterns of the burgage tenements (446) and in some towns the building plots were of a standard size. This does not seem to have been the case at Hedon, where the size of the plots granted out, where it is known, is variable, from the one acre toft of St Leonard's York downwards.

The town grew very rapidly from its beginnings c.1115. By 1162 it had already more than one church, and it was in time to have three (447). It had the rare distinction of coining money for King Stephen c.1153-1154, probably because the count of Aumale, William le Gros, had consistently supported Stephen throughout the civil war. . . . Of the coins struck at Hedon, only two are known. The coins are struck from the same obverse die, but from different reverse dies, and the obverse die belongs to the 7th and last, or "Awbridge" issue of the reign. It is interesting that the two coins came from different reverse dies, as it implies that a larger number of coins must have been struck than if both coins had been found to have come from the same reverse die. The reverse of the coins has the legend:

+ GERARD : OM : hEDVN

Gerard has not been identified. A coiner of York, Thomas son of Ulviet, appears in the 1130 pipe roll as an alderman of the city of York; it must be significant that William le Gros, count of Aumale, gave the same Thomas son of Ulviet 6 carucates of land at Bonwick, beside the count's castle of Skipsea. Amid the chaos of civil war in Stephen's reign, at its worst in the 1140s, baronial mints sprang up all over the country. Two powerful Yorkshire barons who issued their own coins before the end of 1141 were Robert de Stuteville, lord of Cottingham in the East Riding and Kirkby Moorside in the North Riding, and Eustace Fitz John, lord of Knaresborough and Malton. Eustace Fitz John's surviving coins have Thomas Fitz Ulf (for Fitz Ulviet) inscribed upon the reverse: the same man whom William le Gros enfeoffed. The moneyer working at Hedon, the new town of the counts of Aumale, must have been doing so under the direction of Count William le Gros. The identification of the mint is interesting because it shows that Hedon was important at an early date (448).

Very little is known of the trade of Hedon before c.1300, but it seems to have been mainly in wool and hides (449). In 1202 the burgesses paid a fine for permission to sell dyed cloth, and the weavers of Hedon occur regularly in the 14th century (450). Among the craftsmen, goldsmiths, vintners, a dyer and a skinner are mentioned (451). Such industries as Holderness possessed were probably based in Hedon, for no craftsmen are mentioned elsewhere apart from the village workers like the smith.

There must have been skilled metal workers in Hedon in the mid 12th century to staff the mint, and possibly the Twyer family were connected with the industry, for "tuyere" means "a blast-pipe for a furnace" (452).

The first recorded inhabitants of Hedon were the monks, or more likely the servants of the monks, of St Martin Aumale, who were given their hospice on the banks of the river in 1115. They were quickly followed by the monks of St Leonard's hospital York (453). The hospital's land was a rectangular piece in the south-east corner of the town, associated with the hospital until the end of the middle ages, and known as St Leonard's, Leonard Close and Leonard Gote Close, lying in the angle between the Fleet and the river Hedon (454). The grant to St Leonard's was confirmed by successive counts, and further privileges added. The monks found that it was more profitable to sell in Hedon the corn they collected in the district, rather than transport the goods back to York or to another market. The donor's great-grandson, Count William de Forz III, confirmed the grant of the toft and permitted the hospital to have five of its poor men, or five of its tenants, live on the one-acre toft and trade as merchants, or work as craftsmen; and the five merchants and their own goods were to be free of all gelds, aids and tolls due to the count (455). In this manner, which may have been the pattern for other religious houses, the hospital supplied men and merchants for the town.

Gradually all the religious houses of Holderness and the surrounding districts came to have property in Hedon. Before about 1220 Newton hospital south of Hedon, Bridlington priory, St Sepulchre's hospital north of Hedon, Nunkeeling abbey, Meaux abbey, Swine abbey in Yorkshire and Newhouse and Thornton abbey in Lincolnshire, all had acquired properties in Hedon, as well as the first-comers St Leonard's and Aumale (456). The principal church of Hedon, St Augustine's overlooking the market hill, was collated to the dean and chapter of York for the support of the sub-dean (457) and the other two churches belonged to St Martin Aumale (458).

Sometimes the men of Hedon must have felt overwhelmed by the power of the religious houses in their town, for their annual fair, that most important part of the town's privileges, belonged to the leper hospital of Newton by Hedon, to whom it was given by Henry II (459). Although the religious houses with property in Hedon must have helped to populate the town, with their bailiffs and collectors, tenants and merchants, they had many privileges, and were exempt from many of the tolls which

brought revenue to the counts. Other less privileged settlers were needed to take up building plots and bring wealth to Hedon and pay tolls to the counts.

Inhabitants of the new town were probably attracted from other towns. Though there is no positive evidence of this, there is evidence that at the decline of Hedon, as at the flooding of Ravenser Odd, merchants moved away to towns where conditions were better. So probably in the first place men came to Hedon from Beverley, Lincoln or York, because they were discontented and thought conditions might be better in Hedon. It is not possible to tell from the townsmen's names where they came from, as most of them are nicknames: Stephen son of Robert Dunci, Walter Pulle, Peter Hog, Walter Brunberd, William Blund, all occur in Hedon; and also the simple names of the early middle ages, Ralf son of Ralf, Richard son of Walkelin, Peter the clerk, Alice daughter of Ranulf. In 1257 the names of the twelve jurors of Hedon sent to the eyre were Martin de Ottringham, Peter the clerk, Stephen son of John, John Dawe, Richard and Robert de Wynnegate, John Baret, John Long, Francis de Cowden, Peter Hog, William Mus and Henry Cestebyn (460). This anonymity of names was also a feature of the Ravenser Odd burgesses of the 14th century, whose nicknames included the celebrated local family of Rottenherring (461).

Some of the early townsmen were freed villeins. If a villein lived in a borough for a year and a day without being claimed by his lord, he became in many cases a free man (462). Some boroughs began their existence with a sweeping enfranchisement of serfs, as at Higham Ferrers, where in 1251 88 men were freed by the earl of Derby (463). Ex-villeins formed part at least of the population of Hedon. In the early 13th century Hugh de Hamthon quitclaimed to the count of Aumale and the free borough of Hedon Richard son of William de Paull "cum tota sequela" and all his chattels, and delivered him into the hands of the sheriff of Holderness and the bailiff of Hedon (464). The phrase "sequela" is only used of the children of an unfree man, and it seems that this grant freed Richard from the bondage of his master. Another similar transaction is known from the Meaux chronicle. Between 1150 and 1160 one Askyll, a nativus of Keyingham, is mentioned, and also the fact that he was the father of William de Hedon. It seems that Askyll or his son escaped from their servile condition, and settled a few miles away in Hedon, and became a free townsman (465).



As well as the church, the merchants from other towns and the freed villeins, another class of men had interests in Hedon. These were the local gentry, the holders of knights' fees in Holderness, who acquired lands and rents in the new town. Osbert son of Walter de Frismareis at the end of the 12th century held extensive lands along the Humber from the king, the archbishop of York and the count of Aumale (466). He also held at least two tofts in Hedon, which he gave in fee to Hugh son of Tokemann, who gave the land to Bridlington priory (467). The Meaux, Ros and Constable families, who were amongst the count of Aumale's most powerful tenants in Holderness, held lands and tenements in Hedon (468). Robert de Hildyard, seigneurial sheriff for Isabella countess of Aumale 1270-1289, and tenant of widespread lands in Holderness, had property in Hedon worth £14 when he died (469).

Not all these four types of townsmen - the churchmen (or their tenants), the merchants, the freed villeins, the squirearchical landholders, were equal in the borough, and not all were burgesses. There is no evidence for instance that the landowners with property in Hedon were burgesses, or sufficiently concerned to represent the town at the eyre, although their class often represented the wapentake. Churchmen were not burgesses, although their tenants may have been. Some women were burgesses, but most of the women, the children, the apprentices and the servants, were not burgesses (470). Not even all the merchants were burgesses, for a clause of the 1348 charter to the town declared that "the men of the town living by trading and wishing to enjoy the liberties of the town shall be in gild, lot and scot with the burgesses in tallages, aids and other common burdens" (471). In 1297 there were 51 burgesses in Hedon: many more people must have been living in the town (472).

When Hedon was founded, the count would give the new town as many privileges as he could. These would probably be the essential freedom from the count's customary services, freedom from heriot and merchet, and liberty to buy, sell, lease and bequeath property. He may perhaps have added some freedom from internal tolls in Holderness and elsewhere in his lands, and perhaps some monopoly of trading rights.

But there were many grants useful to a town which only the king could give. Some towns came into being and did well without a royal

charter. But William le Gros, count of Aumale, thought that Hedon would benefit by a royal charter, and obtained one from Henry II. There was no question of freeing the town from the count's control, for the grant was made to the count and not to the townsmen, and this dependence on the counts continued until 1260 when the last count died, and beyond, as other men in their turn became lords of Holderness. The charter was very short. After the preamble it continued:

Know that I have granted to William count of Aumale free burgage in Hedon for him and his heirs in fee and inheritance, so that his burgesses of Hedon may hold freely and quietly in free burgage as my burgesses of York or Nichole hold well and freely and quietly, with those customs and liberties (473).

This charter is thought to have made Hedon into a borough, as it bestowed the distinguishing mark of burgage tenure. In addition to having burgage tenure, the other mark of a borough in the early 13th century was that it sent twelve men to answer the questions of the eyre, and the vill sent only the reeve and four men (474). Hedon sent twelve men to the eyre of 1251 (475). It also sent representatives to Parliament in 1295 as a borough.

If King Richard I confirmed the liberties of Hedon, no record of his charter has survived (476). Early in John's reign the burgesses, this time acting semi-independently of their count, negotiated a confirmation of Henry II's charter. For this they paid 70 marks, and for this sum the count of Aumale stood as pledge for the burgesses (477). The royal confirmation was made in December 1200 to the count and countess of Aumale in terms identical to those of Henry II's charter:

free burgage in Hedon, for them [the count and countess] and their heirs in fee and inheritance, so that their burgesses of Hedon may hold freely and quietly in free burgage as do our burgesses of York or Nichol hold, well and freely and quietly with those customs and liberties, as the charter of King Henry our father conceded to William count of Aumale (478).

Neither of these charters gives any information about the customs and liberties of Hedon. It was customary to grant new boroughs the privileges of already existing, and often neighbouring, boroughs. The new borough could then apply to its prototype for an account of its liberties and customs (479). In practice the vagueness of the two earliest borough charters of Hedon became a nuisance, and for this reason a very detailed charter was granted in 1348 by Edward III (480). At the inquisition which preceded the 1348 charter, the jurors said

that the burgesses and their predecessors were accustomed to enjoy the liberties stated from time out of mind, except the election of mayor, bailiffs and coroner, holding judgement of felonies in the town in the presence of the steward or his locum, return of writs, with recognizances of debts for merchants and cognizance of pleas. With these exceptions the 1348 recorded, at least in the view of the jurors, the status quo in Hedon from its first foundation as a borough (481).

From his borough of Hedon, which he counted as part of his demesne, the count of Aumale received a yearly income. The sources of borough income to the seigneur were the rents of burgage plots, tallages and aids, market and fair tolls, the profits of justice, the lord's mill and oven, and prises (482).

The rents of Hedon are mentioned in the 12th century, when Count William le Gros granted William Constable 100s. yearly from his rents of Hedon, Elstronwick and Lelley (482), and the count's receivers of the rents of Hedon are mentioned at the beginning of the 13th century (484). The rents are not individually valued in the 1260 surveys after the death of the last count (as they were for instance in the Cockermouth borough surveys made at the same time) probably because Hedon was already paying a farm at this time, but the total rents remained at a steady £23 from 1260 to 1337, and were £23 11s. 2d. in 1338 (485).

The count's right to tallage Hedon once a year was established by 1260, and was probably always part of the borough's life, for in the 12th century the count had freed St Leonard's hospital of gelds, the earlier equivalent of tallage (486). In 1260 the jurors recorded that the burgesses of the town should be tallaged once a year at the feast of St Augustine by the oath of twelve of themselves: the tallage to be based on their merchandise, but not including the contents of their houses (487). Entered on the pipe roll of 1225-1226 there is a payment of 10 marks by the burgesses of Hedon, occurring after two tallage entries (488), and it is tempting to suppose that this was a payment in lieu of tallage made to the king while the borough was still confiscated, with the rest of Holderness, from Count William de Forz II following the Bytham war (489). There is one record of the countess of Aumale taking an aid from her burgesses of Hedon in 1215, probably for the knighting of her eldest son William de Forz II (490).

The tolls of Hedon are as old as the first mention of the town (491). Combined with the toll of Paull Fleet, the mill and the oven, they were worth £9 in 1260 (492). They would have been much higher had not the profits of the annual Magdalene fair been granted to the leper

hospital of Newton (493). The profits of the borough court went to the count (494) and were in 1260 estimated at 40s. The lord's mill and oven in Hedon were combined with the tolls of Hedon and Paull fleet in 1260 to reach an annual value of £9 (495).

There is no record of the taking of prises by the counts, nor are they mentioned in the profits of the town in the 13th century. The taking of 66 loads of corn from the king of France's merchants at Hedon by the count's men c.1217 was probably an act of war, and not a lawful prise (496). The count may have had the right of pre-emption of goods coming into Hedon, which the king reserved to himself in the borough charter of 1348 (497).

With the exception of prises, the borough of Hedon provided the counts of Aumale with all the customary sources of income, burgage rents, tallages and aids, tolls, profits of justice, the lord's mill and oven. Of these, only the burgage rents appear to have been commuted by 1260 into a farm of £23, and the remaining payments were collected for the counts by the sheriff of Holderness or later the bailiffs of Hedon (498). In the early years of direct collection, the rents of Hedon were collected quarterly or twice yearly (499): in the first surviving Holderness account roll the bailiff of Hedon paid the countess's receivers £41 16s. 6d. (500), a sum which agrees closely with the £40 at which the town was valued in 1280 (501).



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THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

THE COUNTS OF AUMALE AND HOLDERNESS 1086-1260

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## Appendix A: charters of the counts

An attempt has been made here to bring together all the known charters of the counts of Aumale before 1260. Most of the charters are in print, in the volume of Early Yorkshire Charters, in editions of monastic cartularies or elsewhere. All original charters that have been located are illustrated in the thesis (except for No.9, which was reproduced in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal XXXIX (1957), p.342). Many charters are only known from later transcripts, or calendared entries, and especially from two manuscripts, Roger Dodsworth's copies of Yorkshire monastic archives, now in the Bodleian Library, and an unknown copyist's work for Sir William Constable in the 17th century, now in the British Library, Add. MS 26736. Both of these sources are described in the bibliography, below, pp.486,487.

The entries in Appendix A follow this pattern: first there is a rubric in which the donor, recipient and gift are named. A date is suggested for the charter, being the extreme limits between which it could have been made. The source for the charter and printed editions of it are named, and the reasons for the dates assigned are given.

From the great variety of styles in the charters, it seems likely that charters were often drawn up by the recipients. There is no "house style" of the Aumale clerks, as can be seen in a great monastic house like Fountains abbey. Bearing this factor in mind, it has not proved useful to analyse the handwriting, style and diplomatic of the counts' charters.

Charters of the counts of Aumale 1086-1260Count Odo

1. Count Odo grants the abbey of St Mary, York, the manor of Hornsea, with the tithe of fish. 1086-1095

Original not found. Calendared version in the cartulary of St Mary's York, at Manchester, John Rylands Latin MS 221, f.269d. Printed in EYC III, No.1299.

A great many pages of this cartulary are now missing; but there remains at the beginning of each volume of the cartulary an elaborate calendar of the contents, made in the 15th or 16th century, and it is from this calendar that Odo's gift is known. There are no witnesses. The dates given are those between which it is presumed that Count Odo held Holderness, from the flight of Drogo de la Beuvrière until his loss of estates consequent upon the Mowbray rebellion of 1095.







## Charters of the counts

### Count Stephen

2. Inventory of gifts made to the church and canons of St Martin d'Auchy, near Aumale. 1054-1096: probably 1086-1096

Original among the archives of Seine-Maritime at Rouen, I H I No.11. This charter was made after the marriage of Countess Adeliza with her third husband, Count Odo of Champagne, a marriage which must have taken place post 1054 when Adeliza's second husband was killed. The inventory was certainly made ante 1096 when St Martin d'Auchy was given by the count of Aumale to the Benedictines of St Lucian de Beauvais.

The charter so closely resembles No.3 below, that it is possible it was intended to be a charter of confirmation by Count Stephen of Aumale, which would give a date limit of about 1086-1096, but unfortunately it is not possible to tell if the first witness Stephen is the count or not. The charter has been written by at least two different men, and may be of two dates. "The preamble seems to imply that the charter was written while Stephen was heir and not count.

Illustrated as plate 14.

3. Stephen count of Aumale, with the consent of his half sister Adeliza and Robert prince of the Normans, gives the church of St Martin d'Auchy to the monks of St Lucian, Beauvais. Dated 1096

Original not found. Printed in Gallia Christiana XI, No.xv, from the archives of St Lucian, Beauvais.

4. Stephen, count of Aumale, with the consent of the Countess Hawisa his wife and her father Ralf de Mortemer, because it was of their inheritance, grants to St Martin de Champs, Paris, all his rights in the church of Airaines, Somme. c.1100?

Original Archives de France S.1410, No.20. Printed by J.H. Round, Calendar of Documents relating to France, No.1264. Date suggested by Round, no reasons given.

Seal illustrated as plate 2. A photograph of the original document could not be obtained.

5. Stephen, count of Aumale, notifies his steward and barons of Holderness that he has confirmed to the monks of Pontefract the gift made by Ralph de Catwick of half the church of Catwick. 1102-1130

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1318, from the cartulary of Pontefract, YAS DD.57.B., f.67.

Dated by Farrer in EYC III as 1120-1127, no reasons being given. The gift was confirmed by Thurstan, archbishop of York 1114-1143. The dates given here are those of Stephen, count of Aumale.

6. Stephen, count of Aumale, grants St Mary's abbey , York, the church and manor of Hornsea. 1102-1130

Original not found. Calendared version in the cartulary of St Mary's York, at Manchester, John Rylands Latin MS 221, f.269d (for which see above, No.1).

The dates given here are those of Stephen, count of Aumale.

7. Stephen, count of Aumale, confirms to St Lucian de Beauvais the gift of the church of St Martin d'Auchy, and adds gifts from his lands in England. Dated 1115

There are three early versions of this charter.

1. A copy of a charter from the Kirkstall chest in St Mary's Tower, York, made by Dodsworth in the 17th century (Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.240) and printed by Farrer, EYC III, No.1304, and also printed in Mon. Ang. VI p.1020. The charter is calendared in Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum I, No.1088.

2. An early 12th-century copy among the archives of Seine-Maritime at Rouen, I H I No.2. This text has some textual differences from the Dodsworth transcript, including different lists of witnesses, and additional gifts.

3. A mid 12th-century copy or inspeximus by H. archbishop of York (Henry Murdac, 1147-1153) which was made from the sealed charter of Stephen, among the archives of Seine-Maritime at Rouen, I H I No.5. This too shows some variations from the Dodsworth transcript, omitting some gifts and most of the witnesses.

8. Stephen, count of Aumale, notifies his steward, sheriff, barons etc. that he has confirmed to the canons of St Mary Bridlington the gift of the church of Boynton, and whatever belonged to the church before he gave the land to Alan de Monceaux. Made with the consent of William his son. c.1120-1130

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1326, from the cartulary of Bridlington, BL Add.MS 40008, f.136d, and abstracted in Bridlington Charty p.182

Dated by Farrer in EYC III 1120-c.1127, no reasons given.

The mention of Stephen's son William makes it probable that the charter was made at the end of Stephen's life. He was dead by 1130.

Charters of the counts

William le Gros, count of Aumale

9. William, count of Aumale, notifies his gift to Thomas son of Vuieht of Bonwick, Holderness, where there are 6 carucates of land, for the service of half a knight. 1130-1153, c.1150

Original in the Lincoln Record Office, Anderson deed. Printed in YAJ XXXIX (1957), p.342, with photograph of charter. The first witness to the charter, Everard de Ros, died in or before 1153 (see above, p.190).

10. William, count of Aumale, grants to Richard son of Seberin, 1 carucate of land in Burton Pidsea in frankalmoign, to hold for 1 mark rent, paid annually to the brothers of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem. No relief is to be paid by the heirs of Richard. 1130-1157

Original not found. 17th-century copy in Bodleian, Dods. MS 100, f.84d.

The first witness is Eustace Fitz John, who may be identified with the Eustace Fitz John of Malton, who died in 1157 (William of Newburgh, I, p.108).

11. William, count of Aumale, notifies his gift to Robert de Octon his man of all the land of Holmpton. 1130 to before 1160

Original not found. In note form only in BL Harl. MS 1985, a manuscript of collections by R. Holme for the pedigree of the lords of Lumley, from charters kept by Baron Lumley in 1578. The note is on f.82 of the MS.

Also in note form, from this text, in Bodleian Dods. MS 20, f.133d. Robert de Octon the grantee was sheriff of Yorkshire and died a monk at Meaux. He had been succeeded by his son Henry before 1160 (CM I, p.102).

12. William, count of Aumale, confirms to the abbey of St Martin d'Auchy churches in Normandy and land and houses there, including two churches which his father gave, and adds churches of his own gift. 1130-1162

Original not found. Printed by Semichon, Histoire d'Aumale. I, pp.402-3, from the original then in the archives of Seine-Inferieure.

Four of the witnesses occur in two other charters of William le Gros, one definitely dated 1160-1182, the other perhaps from the 1160s (Nos. 22, 47 below). The churches were mentioned in a general confirmation to Aumale which must be before 1162 (EYC III, No.1307).



15. Charter of William le Gros, count of Aumale, to William Constable. 1130-1179.  
Appendix A, No. 14.

Hull University Library

[illegible]

A vertical ruler with markings from 1 to 10 cm. The markings are in centimeters, with millimeter increments indicated between the centimeter numbers. The ruler is oriented vertically, with the 1 cm mark at the top and the 10 cm mark at the bottom.

13. William, count of Aumale, notifies that following the grant of land in Skeffling, made to Ingelbert de Mainers, he granted to Isaac de Skeffling in the same vill land, three villeins, the mill of Winsetts and all the demesne of Skeffling, beyond that granted to Ingelbert, to hold with his other fee for the service of 1/6 part of a fee for ward of the castle of Skipsea. 1130-1179

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No. 1400, from BL Add. MS 26736, f.72d, 17th-century transcript of the evidences of Sir William Constable, taken from the original as there is mention of the seal.

Dates of Count William le Gros. One witness is Elias de Amundeville, dead by Michaelmas 1179 (PR 25 Henry II, p. 49).

14. William, count of Aumale, grants to William Constable 100s. rent annually in Hedon, Elstronwick and Lelley, in fee. 1130-1179

Original HUL, DDCC/45/1. Copies in BL Add. MS 26736 f.71 and HUL, DDCC Box 132.

Dates of Count William le Gros.

Illustrated as plate 15.

15. William, count of Aumale, confirms to St Mary's Guisborough, lands in Lofthus which Richard Bard and Roger his brother and heir gave, that is, the free service of Robert de Butterwick, 2 bovates of land and a culture called Huctredescroft, in free alms. 1130-1179

Original not found. 17th-century copy in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.40, from the original in St Mary's Tower, York. Printed from the Guisborough cartulary, BL Cotton MS Cleop. D.ii, in Guisborough Charty II, p.151.

The dates are of Count William le Gros. The Dodsworth text has a drawing of the seal attached to the charter, which is clearly not that of William de Mandeville, or any of the later de Forz counts. Seal illustrated as plate 4.

16. William, count of Aumale, notifies the archbishop and chapter of York that he has given back the priory of St Bees, Cumberland, the annual rent of six cows he ought to have from them, for his soul and that of his wife Cecily. At "Bincheham". 1130-1179

Original not found. Printed in St Bees Register, No.17, from the cartulary of St Bees, BL Harl. MS 434, f.18.

The reference to the grantor's wife makes it certain that this is a charter of William le Gros, whose dates are given. The place-name may be an unusual form of Bytham, Lincs.



17. William, count of Aumale, gives the priory of St Bees, Cumberland, six cows from his cow rents of Copeland each year when he takes the rent. For his soul and that of his wife. 1130-1179

Original not found. Printed in St Bees Register, No.18, from the cartulary of St Bees, BL Harl. MS 434, f.18.  
As William the chamberlain witnesses this charter and also the preceding, No.16, this is likely to be a charter of William le Gros. Another witness is Elias de Amundeville, dead by Michaelmas 1179 (PR 25 Henry II, p.49). Dates of William le Gros.

18. William, count of Aumale, grants to St Mary's York 5s. rent in the mill of Egremont, Cumberland. At Driffield. 1130-1179

Original not found. Printed in St Bees Register, No.20, from the cartulary of St Bees, BL Harl. MS 434, f.18d.  
The witnesses all occur in charters of William le Gros. He held the manor of Driffield from the king, and his successor, William de Mandeville, did not.  
Dates of William le Gros.

19. William, count of Aumale, confirms to the canons of Bytham his father's grant of the church of Bytham, and of Holywell, and tithes (Lincolnshire).

1130-1179 (1149-1150)

Original not found. Printed in Registrum Antiquissimum of Lincoln III, p.343.

The reference to his father makes this a charter of William le Gros. Six of the same witnesses occur in the charter of the count exchanging the site of Meaux abbey for other land, c.1149-1150 (EYC III, No.1079), which suggests a date in the middle of the century.

20. William, count of Aumale, confirms to St Mary's York gifts in Hornsea and Thorpe given them by his father and grandfather. 1130-1179

Original not found. Calendared version in the cartulary of St Mary's York, at Manchester, John Rylands Latin MS 221, f. 269d (for which see above, No.1).  
From the reference to his father and grandfather, a charter of William le Gros, whose dates are given.

21. William, count of Aumale, notifies his steward, sheriff and barons, that he has given his man Norman (for Morwan) all the land of Nuthill with all appurtenances outside the park, for his service. At Driffield. 1130-1179

Original not found. 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 100, f.85, perhaps from the original. Not in Dodsworth's hand, and the text is corrupt. The original was at Burton Constable in the 19th century (Poulson, Holderness II, p.365). One witness is Elias de Amundeville, dead by Michaelmas 1179 (PR 25 Henry II, p.49).  
Dates of William le Gros.

22. William, count of Aumale, grants to Hubert son of Simon the land of Sciddinghow, Essex, and Gusford, Suffolk, to hold for  $\frac{1}{2}$  knight's fee.

1130-1179

Original not found. From the cartulary of Canonsleigh, Devon, BL Harl. MS 3660, f.139d.

One witness is Elias de Amundeville, dead by Michaelmas 1179 (PR 25 Henry II, p.49).

23. William, count of Aumale, notifies the archbishop of York of his confirmation to the monks of Pontefract of half the church of Catwick. At Hornsea.

1130-1179

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1320, from the cartulary of Pontefract, YAS DD.57.B, f.68, and also printed in Pontefract Charty, No.424.

As the count's father Stephen is mentioned, this must be a charter of William le Gros, whose dates are given.

24. William, count of Aumale, notifies his steward, sheriff, and barons of his confirmation to the canons of St Mary's Bridlington of the church of Boynton. At Aldbrough.

1130-1179

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1327, from the cartulary of Bridlington, BL Add.MS 40008, f.136d, and abstracted in Bridlington Charty, p.181.

Dates of William le Gros, whose charter this must be because of the early form of address.

25. William, count of Aumale, confirms to the nuns of Nunkeeling 3 carucates of land there, the gift of Agnes de Catfoss, who holds them of Richard de St Quintin.

1130-1179

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1334, from 17th-century transcripts in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.254d and Dods. MS 95, f.66d. Both Dodsworth copies from the original in St Mary's Tower York. Also printed in Mon. Ang. IV, p.187, from the cartulary of Nunkeeling, BL Cotton MS Otho C.viii, f.87. One witness is Elias de Amundeville, dead by Michaelmas 1179 (PR 25 Henry II, p.49).

26. William, count of Aumale, confirms to the church of St Mary's Bridlington land in Goxhill, the church of Sproatley and land in Sproatley, the gift of Ralph de Goxhill and Erneis his brother. At Burstwick.

1130-1179

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1340, from 17th-century transcripts in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.261d, copied by Dodsworth from the original in St Mary's Tower York. Abstracted in Bridlington Charty, p.344, from cartulary of Bridlington, BL Add.MS 40008, f.260d.

The witnesses point to this being a charter of William le Gros, whose dates are given.



27. William, count of Aumale, grants Alan son of Hubert his man Pollard and Twyer between Hedon and Preston, burdened with a rent of 12d. annually at Michaelmas to the castle ward of Skipsea. 1130-1179

Original not found. Abstracted in 17th-century volume, Leeds, YAS MS 321, unnumbered pages, under Twyer. The same MS marks this charter "William le Gros". Alan son of Hubert founded the hospital of St Sepulchre Hedon, which occurs at least as early as 1189-90 (YAS MS 321 under Hedon). Dates of William le Gros.

28. William, count of Aumale, grants to Ralph de Ulrome 3 carucates in Ulrome, which belonged to Adeline, Ralph's father. At Barrow. 1130-1179

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1395, from BL Add. MS 26736, f.63d, a 17th-century transcript of a charter from Robert Stephenson of Dringhoe. The first witness is Stephen, brother of the count, which shows that the grantor is William le Gros, and not William de Mandeville: le Gros's dates are given.

29. William, count of Aumale, notifies his confirmation to Simon de Skeffling of an exchange which Simon made with the count's men of Skeffling with liberty to erect and remove a mill. At Aumale. 1130-1179

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1399, from BL Add. MS 26736, f.71, a 17th-century copy from the evidences of Sir William Constable. Another 17th-century copy in HUL DDCC/Box 132. The witnesses such as Ulbert the Constable and William Biset point to this being a charter of William le Gros, whose dates are given.

30. William, count of Aumale, grants to Eufemia his niece, wife of Robert de Brus, that after his death they shall have Dimlington, which he gave her in marriage with Robert de Brus, because she granted it back to Count William for his life. 1130-1179

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1352, from Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.43, a 17th-century transcript of the original then in St Mary's Tower York. Several of the witnesses witness another charter of William le Gros which can be dated c.1149-1150 (EYC III, No.1379). The dates are those of William le Gros.

31. William, count of Aumale, notifies the bishop of Lincoln that he has confirmed to Garendon abbey the gift which William de Evermu made, of 4 carucates in Eastwell, Leicestershire. 1133-1162

Original not found. Printed in Nichols, History of Leicestershire II, part 1, p.134, from the cartulary of Garendon, BL Lansd. MS 415, f.10. Garendon was founded in 1133. One of the witnesses to the charter is Fulk abbot of Aumale: there were two abbots of this name in the relevant period, Fulk I who occurs 1135 and had been succeeded by 1138, and Fulk II who occurs in 1162

(not before 1157) and was succeeded by another abbot by July 1162 (Gallia Christ. XI, p.278).

32. William, count of Aumale, confirms to the abbey of St Martin d'Auchy the churches of Bytham, Burton and Grasby, Lincolnshire, which his father gave them. At St Martin's Aumale. Dated 1135

Original not found. From a 12th-century transcript made by order of H. archbishop of York (Henry Murdac, 1147-1153) and certified by him, Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I No.5, second part of document.

In 1156 the bishop of Lincoln confirmed to Aumale all the churches in his diocese given by the counts of Aumale; these were Barrow, Grasby, Carlton and Bytham (Mon. Ang. VI p.1103). As Burton is not included in this list, it was probably not in the diocese of Lincoln but Burton Pidsea in Holderness, which was given to Aumale (EYC III, No.1307).

33. William, earl of York, grants the hospital of St Peter, York, a toft in Hedon, and 1 mark from his toll in Hedon, to be paid yearly by his sheriff at York. 1138-1143

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1313, from the cartulary of St Leonard's York (alias St Peter's hospital) Bodleian Rawl. MS B 455, f.184. Calendared in Cal. Ch.R. 1257-1300, p.440. There is a 17th-century transcript with some differences in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.13, from the original in St Mary's Tower, York.

The first witness is William the dean: as he is followed by a canon of York, it is assumed that William is the dean of York, 1135-1143 (YM Fasti I, p.1). William count of Aumale was made earl of York after the battle of the Standard, 1138.

34. William, count of Aumale, notifies the archbishop and others of his gift to the hospital of St Peter, York, of a toft of one acre in Hedon, and other alms, and that the hospital's men at Hedon shall be quit of tolls; also the gift of 1 mark yearly from his toll of Hedon to be delivered each year at York. 1138-1143

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1314, from the cartulary of St Leonard's York (alias St Peter's hospital), Bodleian Rawl. MS B 455, f.184. Calendared in Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300, p.440

This charter has the same witnesses as the preceding (No.33) and was presumably made at the same time. It is interesting that in this charter William did not use the title earl of York, although he did so in the grant to the hospital.

35. William, earl of York, confirms to the canons of Bridlington pasture in Hayburn (in Cloughton, near Scarborough) as freely as they held it in the time of Walter de Gant. 1138-1155

Original not found. Printed in EYC I, No.362, from the Bridlington cartulary, BL Add. MS 40008, f.20ld. Calendared in Bridlington Charty, p.270.

Dated from the creation of the earldom of York, 1138, and a terminal date from Henry II's reassumption of the earldom in 1155 (see above, p. 38).

36. William, earl of York, orders by writ his clerks and laymen and all his men and ministers of Holderness and of Frodingham to render to the hospital of St Peter, York, a thrave from each of his ploughs.

1138-1155

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1305, from the cartulary of St Leonard's York (alias St Peter's hospital), BL Cotton MS Nero D.iii, f.59d.

The dates are those of the period in which William was earl of York (see above, pp.34-8).

37. William, earl of York, notifies his grant to the church of St Mary, Bridlington, of liberty over land of his fee, in Ottringham, Sproatley, Atwick, Skirlington, Beeford and Boynton, to repair an injury he had done to the canons of Bridlington.

1138-1155

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1306, from the cartulary of Bridlington, BL Add. MS 40008, f.259d.

Calendared in Bridlington Charty, p.342.

The dates are those of the period in which William was earl of York (see above, pp.34-8). In 1144 Earl William took the priory of Bridlington, expelled the canons, and fortified the building: perhaps this is the injury referred to in the charter (Newburgh I, p.47).

38. William, count of Aumale, confirms to the priory of St Bees the vill of "Helsingham" and land of Walton (Cumberland) that Roger son of Gilbert gave them.

c.1139-1179

Original not found. Printed in St Bees Register, No.224, from the cartulary, BL Harl. MS 434, f.107d.

The first witness is Magister Gilbert de Sempringham. If this is the founder of the Gilbertine order, he founded Haverholme in 1139 and died in 1189.

The gift was confirmed by William le Gros's wife Cecily (St Bees Register, No.225), indicating that the charter was that of William le Gros.

39. William, count of Aumale, and John de Meaux record an agreement whereby the count gave John the land of Bewick, in exchange for Meaux, so that the count could found an abbey there.

1149-1150

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1379, from 17th-century transcript from the cartulary of Meaux, formerly in St Mary's Tower, York, and now lost, Bodleian Dods. MS 53, f.1 and also Dods. MS 7, f.231. Also printed in Mon. Ang. V, p.394. Meaux was founded on 1 January 1151 (new style) and this exchange took place just beforehand (CM I, p.73).

40. William, count of Aumale, notifies his gift to the Cistercian monks of Meaux of the place called Meaux and the wood of Routh. c.1151

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1380, from 17th-century transcript from the cartulary of Meaux, formerly in St Mary's Tower, York, and now lost, Bodleian Dods. MS 53, f.1, and also Dods. MS 7, f.231d. Also printed in Mon. Ang. V, p.393. These were the first gifts of the count of Aumale on the foundation of the abbey on 1 January 1151.

41. William, count of Aumale, notifies his gift to the Cistercian monks of Meaux of Meaux itself, the wood of Routh, all his land in Wawne, pasture called Salthaugh and Newland, with a road and 1 carucate of land, acquired by exchange from William son of Askill. 1151-1153

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1381, from 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.232. Also printed in Mon. Ang. V, p.394. Meaux was founded on 1 January 1151, and Archbishop Henry Murdac, who confirmed the gift of the land in Wawne, died in 1153.

42. William, count of Aumale, confirms the exchange made between the convent of Meaux and Saer de Sutton, of two gardens and of meadow and pasture. 1151-1167

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1373, from 17th-century transcript of the original formerly in St Mary's Tower, York, Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.266d. Meaux was founded on 1 January 1151, and Jordan de Blossewill, a witness to the deed, died before 1167 (PR 13 Henry II, p.203).

43. Inspeximus by H. abbot of St Peter, Selincourt, of a confirmation by William, count of Aumale, to the church of St Martin of Aumale, being a confirmation of his own and his ancestors' gifts of tithes and churches in Normandy and in Holderness, a hospice at the river at Hedon, the crossing of the Humber, churches in Lincolnshire and in the diocese of Norwich, and various privileges.

Inspeximus dated 1287

Count's confirmation 1154-1162

Original charter of the count not found. Original inspeximus in HUL, DDCC/111/3. Printed in EYC III, No.1307, without the abbot's introduction or conclusion, from a 17th-century copy in BL Add. MS 26736, f.52, which was itself copied from a certified copy supplied by the keepers of St Mary's Tower, York. Two of the witnesses are Fulk abbot of Aumale and Stephen abbot of Foucarmont. Stephen occurs not earlier than 1154 and Fulk II not later than 1162 (Gallia Christ. XI, p.305).



44. William, count of Aumale, notifies Archbishop Roger of York, and Robert the dean and the chapter of York, of his gift to St Mary Magdalene and the lepers at Newton between Hedon and Paull, of Newton except an intake and the south marsh, the mill of Preston, the fair of St Mary Magdalene and rent in Hedon. At Hedon. 1170-1175

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1308, from York, Dean and Chapter MS Registum Magnum Album, I, f.69d. The charter mentions Henry the Young King, who was crowned in 1170. Philip, abbot of Thornton, a witness to the charter, died in 1175 (Mon. Ang. VI, p.324).

45. William, count of Aumale, grants the nuns of Nun Coton, Lincolnshire, a toft of  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre upon the intake of Paull, with the tenant; and grants that the ships belonging to the nuns shall use the havens of Paull and Hedon, quit of all custom and demand. 1154-1179

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1309, from the cartulary of Nun Coton, Bodleian MS Top. Lincs. d.1, f.18. The charter mentions King Henry who brought up the grantor. This was Henry I, and the grantor William le Gros. Another King Henry is mentioned, who must be Henry II, thus making it clear that the charter could not have been issued before 1154. William le Gros died in 1179.

46. William, count of Aumale, notifies Roger, archbishop of York, of his grant to the canons of Bridlington of 30s. which Robert de Ulrome renders yearly for land at Ulrome. 1154-1181 (c.1160-66?)

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1396, from the cartulary of Bridlington, BL Add. MS 40008, f.227. Abstracted in Bridlington Charty, p.303. Roger was archbishop of York from 1154 to 1181. The first witness is Hugh Murdac, probably the prebendary of Driffield, who held the prebend 1160-1166 (YM Fasti II, pp20-1). Other witnesses suggest this is a charter of Le Gros, and therefore before 1179, rather than of William de Mandeville.

47. William, count of Aumale, to the church of Hexham, confirms the grant of Great Edstone given them by Hugh de Twithe, with land and men and a rent in Holme. 1160-1179

Original not found. Copy of inspeximus of the original in cartulary of Hexham priory, Leeds, YAS MS 542, f.2. Calendared in Collectanea Top. et Gen. VI (1840), p.39. The first witness is Philip, abbot of Meaux from 1160 to 1182. The inspeximus by William archbishop of York, dated 1309, refers to the seal as a portrait on a warhorse in old red wax. This is probably the seal of William le Gros, which would give a terminal date of 1179, although William de Mandeville also had an equestrian seal (HMC Rutland IV, p.5). Similar witnesses occur in two other charters of le Gros, Nos 48 and 50 below.

48. William, count of Aumale, covenants with the canons of Hexham that no claim should be made by his heirs after his death to 3 carucates of land in Edstone and Holme. 1160-1179

Original not found. From the cartulary of Hexham priory, Leeds, YAS MS 542, f.2. Calendared in Collectanea Top. et Gen. VI (1840), p.39.

The first witness is Philip, abbot of Meaux from 1160 to 1182. The reference to the claims by the count's heirs makes it probable that this is a charter of William le Gros and not William de Mandeville.

49. William, count of Aumale, notifies R[oger] archbishop of York and legate of his gift to the monks of St Nicholas Exeter, a rent of 16s. from his rent of Hutton in Holderness. 1164-1179

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1375, from the cartulary of St Nicholas Exeter, BL Cotton MS Vit.D.ix, f.57d. Roger was made legate in 1164. This gift was confirmed by the count's daughter Hawisa, making it probable that the charter was issued by William le Gros, who died in 1179.

50. William, count of Aumale, confirms an agreement made previously by Wicard de Eglā, Sibilla his wife and their sons Odcelmus, William and others, before Richard the dean of Aumale and the commune there, granting the church of St Mary of Brostel and the monks there whatever they claimed in the territory of Belval (Normandy). At Aumale. Dated 1166.

Original not found. Facsimile in Semichon, Histoire d'Aumale, I, unnumbered page, from the original then in the archives department of Seine-Inferieure.

Other charters that may have been issued by William le Gros or William de Mandeville are listed below, Nos. 51 - 57.

Charters of the counts

William le Gros, count of Aumale, or William de Mandeville, count of Aumale

51. William, count of Aumale, grants to Holm Cultram abbey, Cumberland, a forge at "Winfel" and wood at Egremont, Cumberland, for their use.

1130-1185

Original not found. Calendared in Holm Cultram Register, p.21, from BL Harl. MS 3891, f.63.

No witnesses are given. The gift was confirmed by Pope Lucius II in 1185 (Holm Cultram Register, p.21).

52. William, count of Aumale, to his steward, sheriff and others of Holderness, notifies his gift to the monks of Whitby of  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark yearly, to be paid by William son of Saer de Sutton and their heirs from the tenement late of Arnold de Newton.

1130-1189

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1374, from the cartulary of Whitby, BL Add. MS 4715, f.121d; also printed in Whitby Charty, No.531.

No witnesses. William de Sutton occurs in 1178 (PR 24 Henry II, p.71) which suggests a date late in le Gros's time or in that of William de Mandeville.

53. William, count of Aumale, notifies his gift to Giles the Falconer, nephew of Geoffrey de Cauz, of 2 carucates of land in Dringhoe to hold by doing the service of the grantor's falcons.

1130-1189

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1405, from BL Add. MS 26736, f.63d, 17th-century transcript of a charter of Robert Stephenson of Dringhoe.

The charter is witnessed by two chamberlains, Walter and William. William was chamberlain to William le Gros, and Walter to William de Mandeville.

54. William, count of Aumale, confirms to St Mary's abbey, York, whatever his ancestors gave them in Hornsea and Thorpe with the liberty belonging to them.

1130-1189

Original not found. Calendar only in the cartulary of St Mary's York, Manchester, John Rylands Latin MS 221, f.269d. For this cartulary see No.1 above.

No witnesses. There is a charter of William le Gros immediately preceding this charter, which is followed by a charter of William de Forz. This suggests that it is a charter of William de Mandeville, who is otherwise not represented in the St Mary's York cartulary, but the phrase about his ancestors would seem to point to William le Gros.

55. William, count of Aumale, notifies his gift to William de Cauz of 1 carucate in Thorpe next Aldbrough for his service of keeping the count's falcons during the count's life: after the count's death, to be held by the ancient service. 1130-1195

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1406, from the cartulary of Meaux, BL Lansd. MS 424, f.119d.

Between 1182 and 1195 William de Cauz sold this land to Meaux abbey (CM I, p.220). As this sale was confirmed by William de Forz I and Countess Hawisa, the sale must have been completed before 1195. The grantor of the charter could therefore be William le Gros, William de Mandeville, or William de Forz I.

56. William, count of Aumale, notifies Roger, archbishop of York, that he has quitclaimed all rights after his death in the tenement in Sowerby which Richard, abbot of Whitby, has leased to him for his life.

1154-1181

Original not found. Printed in EYC II, No.861, from the cartulary of Whitby, BL Add MS 4715, f.

The dates are those of Roger, archbishop of York.

57. William, count of Aumale, grants to Hugh son of Benedict and his heirs, all the fee of his chamber. c.1170-1195

Original not found. Mentioned in Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer, I, p.75

The same volume contains a charter of Countess Hawisa to Hugh Benedict her chamberlain, which makes it probable that this charter was granted by William le Gros, William de Mandeville or William de Forz I. Hugh son of Benedict was in possession of the family inheritance at Nuthill about 1190 (EYC III, No.1398), a charter witnessed by Jordan abbot of Thornton, and Hugh also occurs as a witness to a charter of William de Mandeville, EYC III, No.1311, below No. 72.





Hawisa, countess of Aumale

58. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, grants Hugh Benedict her chamberlain and his heirs; all the fee from her chamber: 1179-1214

Original not found. Mentioned in Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer, I, p.75.

See No.57 above. Dates of Countess Hawisa.

59. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, confirms to Garendon abbey, Leicestershire, the gift of 4 carucates in Eastwell, Leicestershire, which Ralf the Butler gave. Dated Easter 1181.

Original at Belvoir castle. Printed in HMC Rutland IV, p.6.

60. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, notifies her bailiff of Hedon and all her men that she has confirmed to Fulk de Oyry land in Hedon.

1179-1214 (1195-1212?)

Original in BL, Add. Ch. 20559. The charter has been retouched.

Dates of Hawisa. The first witness is Magister Philip de Langbar, who was Baldwin de Béthune's steward, which suggests that this may have been issued during the time Countess Hawisa was married to Baldwin, or later during her widowhood.

Illustrated as plate 16.

61. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, confirms to Meaux abbey the gift of William de Cauz of 1 carucate in Thorpe next Aldbrough. 1182-1195

Original not found. From the cartulary of Meaux, BL Lansd. MS 424, f.120.

William de Cauz gave the land to the abbey after 1182 (CM I, p.220). As the gift was confirmed by William de Forz I, it must have been made before 1195, the date of William de Forz's death.

62. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, grants Agnes de Preston her nurse 4 bovates in Preston, which belonged to Lyglph the reeve, for a rent of 6d. to the castle ward of Skipsea. c.1191-1192?

Original not found. Known only from calendared version in 17th-century MS, Leeds, YAS MS 321, unnumbered pages.

The date is given in the MS as c.3 Richard I. The dates given by this transcriber are not always accurate, but as the text of the charter is not known, and there are no witnesses, it is tentatively assigned to that period.

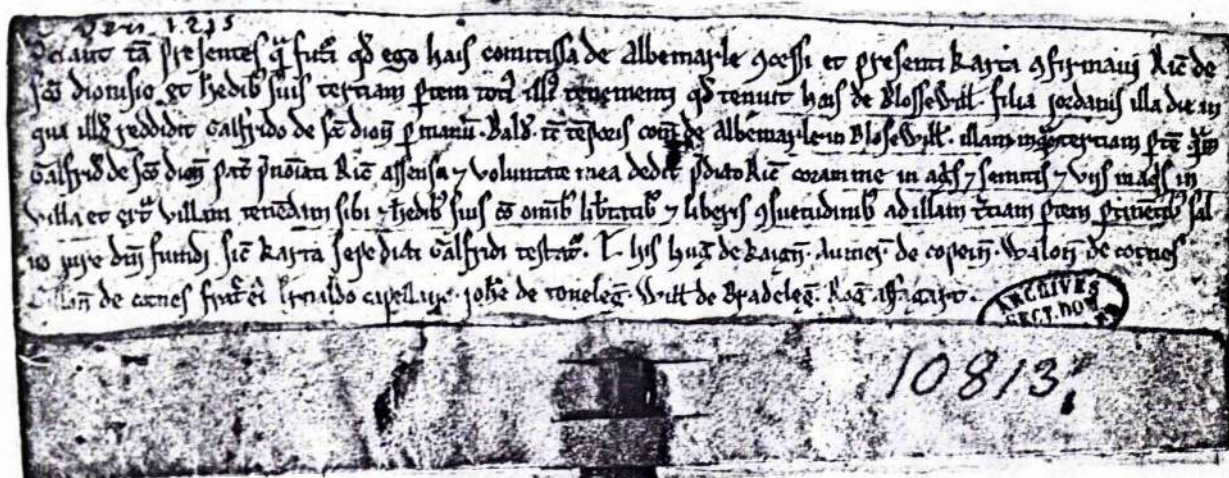
63. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, confirms to St Nicholas, Exeter, the gift of William her father, of a rent of 16s. from Hutton in Holderness.

1195-1212

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1376, from the cartulary of St Nicholas, BL Cotton Vit. D. ix, f.57d.

This charter is followed in the cartulary by a confirmation by Baldwin de Béthune, made with the assent of his wife and with the same witnesses. This charter must therefore have been made during their marriage, 1195-1212.





17. Charter of Hawisa, countess of Aumale, to Richard de St Dionisius. 1212-1214. Appendix A, No.66. The seal is Plate 8 above.

Paris, archives nationales

64. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, confirms to Meaux abbey gifts from her fee including Meaux itself, and lands in Routh, Wawne, Salthaugh, Burton Pidsea, Tharlesthorpe, Thorpe, Aldbrough, Holme, Arram, Seaton, Beeford, Dunnington, Dringhoe, Ugthorpe, Hedon and Sutton. 1197-1214

Original not found. 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.232d, from the original in St Mary's Tower, York. Printed in Mon. Ang. V, p.388, from a register of Fountains.

The first witness is Fulk de Oyry the steward. Amand de Sutton, the only donor mentioned in the charter, gave land in Sutton marsh to Meaux after 1197 (CM I, p.300).

65. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, confirms or grants to St Mary Magdalene and the lepers at Newton by Hedon, gifts of her father and their fair. 1212-1214

Original not found. Enrolled in the earliest Hedon Court Book, Humberside CRO, DDHE/20, f.11. Badly damaged. This charter was made by Hawisa in her widowhood. Baldwin de Bethune died in 1212, and Hawisa died 1214.

66. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, confirms to Richard de St Dionisius and his heirs a third of that tenement in Blosseville, Normandy, which Hawisa de Blosseville daughter of Jordan held on that day when she gave the land back to Geoffrey de St Dionisius by the hand of Baldwin, late count of Aumale. 1212-1214

Original in Archives de France, S.5202, No.22. Baldwin died in 1212 and Hawisa in 1214.

Illustrated as plate 17; seal illustrated as plate 8.

67. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, after the death of Count Baldwin confirms to the nuns of Nunkeeling Thomas Coch with all his progeny in Bonwick. 1212-1214

Original not found. From the cartulary of Nunkeeling, BL Cotton MS Otho C. viii, f.94d. Also calendared version in Bodleian, Dods. MS 118, f.86. Dates of Hawisa's widowhood.

68. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, to Garendon abbey, Leicestershire, after the death of Count Baldwin, confirms the gift of 4 carucates of land in Eastwell, Leicestershire, given to the abbey by Ralf the Butler. 1212-1214

Original not found. Printed in Book of Seals, No.444. Dates of Hawisa's widowhood.

See plate 8





69. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, in her widowhood, confirms to Meaux abbey her husband's gift of 100s. of land in Linton in Craven. 1212-1214

Original not found. 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.236, from the original in St Mary's Tower, York. Dates of Hawisa's widowhood.

70. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, in her widowhood concedes to Fulk de Oryy freedom from wapentakes and their suits, wards and lastage, free passage of the Humber and free warren in his land at Dunnington, and also that he may course greyhounds. 1212-1214

Original HUL DDCC/135/1.

Dates of Hawisa's widowhood.

Illustrated as plate 18.

71. Hawisa, countess of Aumale, in her widowhood concedes to Fulk de Oryy the manor of Wymering, Hampshire, for a pair of gilt spurs or 6d.

1212-1214

Original not found. Cited in a law suit of 1229 (CRR XIII, No.1923). Dates of Hawisa's widowhood.



Charters of the counts

William de Mandeville, earl of Essex and count of Aumale

72. William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, grants to Walter the chamberlain 20 acres in Holme "desuper montem" (probably Paull Holme), tofts and closes, for the service of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a knight's fee. 1180-1189

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1311, from 17th-century transcript BL Add. MS 26736, f.82d.  
Dates of William de Mandeville's marriage to Countess Hawisa.

73. William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, confirms to the canons of Bridlington the gifts made by William, count of Aumale, the church of Boynton and the church of Sproatley, and lands in Goxhill, Ottringham, Sproatley, Atwick, Skirlington, Beeford, Boynton and rents. 1180-1184

Original not found. Printed in EYC III, No.1310, from the cartulary of Bridlington, BL Add. MS 400008, f.259d; calendar in Bridlington Charty, p.342.  
One witness, Thomas, abbot of Thornton, died in 1184 (Mon. Ang. VI, p.324). William de Mandeville married Hawisa in 1180.

74. William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, confirms to the canons of Guisborough gifts from his fee in Ugthorpe. 1180-1189

Original not found. Printed in Guisborough Charty II, p.212, from the cartulary, BL Cotton Cleop. D. ii, ff.324d-325.  
The dates are those of William de Mandeville's marriage to Countess Hawisa.

75. William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, confirms to the church of St Helen of Killing...3...which the wife of Gamel held, and ...William Foliot and 3 bovates...saving...of the king and Danegeld. 1180-1189

Original not found. From the cartulary of Nunkeeling, BL Cotton Otho C. viii, f.65d, shrunk and damaged by the fire in the Cottonian library.  
The dates are those of William de Mandeville's marriage to Countess Hawisa.

76. William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, grants the monks of Rievaulx a ditch made by the monks between the king's waste below Pickering and the grantor's land of Thornton le Dale, and the land below that ditch, and waste. Dated 1181

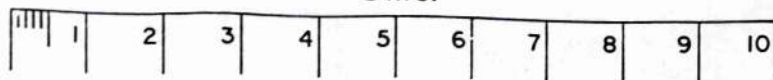
Original not found. Printed in EYC I, No.617, from the Rievaulx cartulary, BL Cotton Julius D.i, f.106; printed in Rievaulx Charty, no. 165.

77. William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, confirms to Garendon abbey Leicestershire, the gift of 4 carucates in Eastwell, Leicestershire, which Ralf the Butler gave. Dated Easter 1181.

Original at Belvoir castle. Printed in HMC Rutland IV, p.4.

Other charters that may have been issued by William le Gros or William de Mandeville are listed above, Nos. 51 - 57.





Willelmo de Forz comes Aumale. Inimicus scilicet Robertus filius. Datus Robertus me  
 gressus et dedisse. et gressu de nasse. et hac plena carta mea firmasse deo et ecclesie scilicet  
 Rievaulx de Rievaulx et monasterio. et inde deo servientibus. et salute anime mee et omnium parentum  
 et heredum meorum in libram et perpetuam elemosinam. tota donatione Willelmi comes de Aumale  
 bannum. prius uxoris mee. scilicet quod iuris habuit in Wichleholm. et totum calupnia et  
 totum ius quod habuit in Wasto sub Pikering. ibi et alibi in quocumque loco infra fossata co  
 runde monachorum. et infra metas et diuisas que uidentur in cartis sancti henrici regis Anglie  
 quod cartas predicti monachi habent de eodem Wasto. Hec omnia concessi et dedi illis. tenenda  
 libere et gressu ab omni tereno seruitio et exactione seculari. sine omni reclamacione de me  
 et de heredibus meis in perpetuum. Ego et heredes mei renunciamus et warrantamur  
 illis hec omnia quod omnes homines in perpetuum. His testibus. Magistro Michaele de Clunilla.  
 Waltero filio Hugonis subueco. Abbatem. Waltero Pamel. Waltero Bigone dapiferum. comitem.  
 Berilo de bausta iohanne de chella. Radulfo de Bolebec. Alano de Guntun. Waltero  
 mayerschaleho. Roberto de Rudestain. Alano clerico Waltero subueco et multis aliis.

Charters of the counts

William de Forz I, count of Aumale

78. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Rievaulx abbey whatever right he had in the waste below Pickering and in a place below the monks' ditch and within the bounds named in the charter of Henry II; in confirmation of a gift by William, count of Aumale, father of his wife.

1190-1195

Original at Leeds, YAS Newburgh priory deeds, Bundle 1 No.4 (1); calendared in HMC Various II, p.11

Dates of William de Forz I, whose charter this must be, owing to the reference to the father of his wife.

Illustrated as plate 19; seal illustrated as plate 5

79. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Pontefract priory a carucate of land and a dwelling house in Broughton which Alice de Rummily had given.

1190-1195

Original not found. Printed in EYC VII, No.33, from the Pontefract cartulary, YAS DD 57 B. Also printed

in Pontefract Charty, No.412, and Mon. Ang. V, p.125.

The second witness is William Paynel, who was dead by 1202 (EYC VI, p.43). The dates are those of William de Forz I.

80. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Fountains abbey Kilnsey and all his right in Malham Moor.

1190-1195

Original not found. Abstract in Fountains Charty, p.43, from BL Add. MS 37770, f.114. Also abstract in EYC VII, No.34.

The witnesses make it clear that this is a charter of William de Forz I as no less than seven of them appear in other charters of his.

81. William de Forz, count of Aumale, and Hawisa his wife confirm to Dunstable priory and the canons of Ruxox (Bedfordshire) the place of Ruxox and the church of Flitwick and Husborne Crawley (Bedfordshire).

1190-1195

Original not found. Printed in EYC VII, No.45, from the Dunstable cartulary, BL Harl. MS 1885, f.21.

Dates of William de Forz's marriage to Countess Hawisa.

Other charters that may have been issued by William de Forz I, II, or III are listed below, Nos. 131-43. See also Nos. 55 and 57 above.





Charters of the countsBaldwin de Béthune, count of Aumale

82. Baldwin de Béthune, count of Aumale, engages that he will support Philip Augustus should his master, the king of England, break his engagements toward the king of France. Dated 1200.

Original in Paris, archives de France, J 628 No.27.

Illustrated as plate 20; seal illustrated as plate 6.

83. Baldwin de Béthune, count of Aumale, pledges himself to the king for 70 marks which the burghers of Hedon promised for a confirmation of their liberties. 1200

Original not found. Printed in Rotuli Chartorum, p.99. Date from the position of the charter on the charter roll, entered among charters of December 1200. The promise of the burghers of Hedon is entered in Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus temp. John, p.89.

84. Baldwin de Béthune, count of Aumale, confirms to Fountains abbey Kilnsey and all his right in Malham moor. 1195-1201

Original not found. In Fountains cartulary, BL Add. MS 37770, f.114d. Abstract in EYC VII, p.35. The grantor married Hawisa, countess of Aumale, in 1195. One of the witnesses, Walter, abbot of Waltham, died in 1201 (EYC VII, p. 80).

85. Baldwin de Béthune, count of Aumale, with the assent of his wife Hawisa concedes to Robert Constable 100s. of his rents of Holderness, following the charter of William le Gros, and states the terms when the rent is to be paid. 1195-1212

Original not found. 17th-century copy in BL Add. MS 26736, f.70d; another copy in HUL DDCC/Box 132. Dates of Baldwin's marriage to Hawisa.

86. Baldwin de Béthune, count of Aumale, confirms to St Nicholas, Exeter, the gift made by William count of Aumale of rent from Hutton. 1195-1210

Original not found. In cartulary of St Nicholas Exeter, BL Cotton MS Vit. D. ix, f.57d. Dates of Baldwin's marriage to Hawisa.



87. Baldwin de Béthune, count of Aumale, and Countess Hawisa his wife confirm to Dunstable priory and the canons of Ruxox, the place of Ruxox, 7 acres of land, the church of Flitwick and the church of Husborne Crawley (all in Bedfordshire). 1195-1212

Original not found. Printed in EYC VII, No.46, from the Dunstable cartulary, BL Harl. MS 1885, f.21  
Dates of Baldwin's marriage to Hawisa.

88. Baldwin de Béthune, count of Aumale, with the consent of Hawisa his wife, confirms to Meaux abbey 100s. of land in his manor of Linton in Craven, with his body to be buried. 1210-1212

Original not found. 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.232d, from the original in St Mary's Tower, York.

The gift is mentioned in CM I, p.379 as being made in the time of Abbot Hugh, 1210-1220; Count Baldwin died in 1212.



Charters of the counts

William de Forz II, count of Aumale

89. William de Forz son and heir of William de Forz late count of Aumale to his dear lord John de Octon... (no indication of gift).

1214-1241 (c.1214?)

Original not found. 16th-century transcript in BL Harl. MS 1985, ff.83d, 98, collections for the pedigree of the lords of Lumley.

The MS has a drawing of the arms on the seal, a cross patonce vair with a label of 5 points. None of the known seals of the de Forz counts has a label: this may have been the seal of William de Forz II before he was accepted by King John as count of Aumale, and therefore date from 1214.

90. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Meaux the gift which Magister G. Gibwin made to them of 20 bovates of land in Dimlington.

1214-1220

Original not found. 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.236d, from the original then in St Mary's Tower, York.

This gift and confirmation are entered in the Meaux abbey chronicle as being in the time of Abbot Hugh, 1210-1220 (CM I, p.362). William de Forz II inherited his lands in 1214.

91. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Robert Constable 100s. of his rents of Hedon, which William's ancestors granted Robert.

1214-1222

Original not found. 17th-century copy in BL Add. MS 26736, f.70d and another copy in HUL DDCC/Box 132.

William de Forz came into his inheritance in 1214: one of the witnesses, William de Holbeach, was dead by 1222 (Rot. Fin. p.79).

92. William de Forz, count of Aumale, notifies his receivers of his rents of Hedon that he has given Robert Constable 100s. of his rents.

1214-1222

Original HUL DDCC/45/2. 17th-century copy in BL Add. MS 26736, f.74d.

Probably drawn up at the same time as the previous charter (no.91), as most of the witnesses occur in both charters, although William de Holbeach does not witness No.92.

Illustrated as plate 21.



93. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to the hospital of St Peter, York (alias St Leonard's) the gifts of his grandfather, William count of Aumale, of liberties, and a house, men, and 1 mark from his toll in Hedon annually. 1214-1231

Original not found. 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.15, from the original in St Mary's Tower, York; also in cartulary, BL Rawl.B. 455, f.184d, a text with variations but with the same witnesses. The reference to his grandfather shows that this is a charter of William de Forz II. One witness, Fulk de Oyry, died in 1231 (CRR XIV, No.1131).

94. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Meaux abbey the site of the abbey, the wood of Routh and all other gifts as the charters of his grandfather, father and mother testify. 1214-1231

Original not found. 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.236, from the original in St Mary's Tower, York. The reference to his ancestors shows that this is a charter of William de Forz II. One witness, Fulk de Oyry, died in 1231 (CRR XIV, No.1131).

95. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms the gifts made by Alice de Rumilly from his part of the fee, made to Fountains abbey.

1214-1231

Original not found. Abstracted in Fountains Charty, No.70, from various MSS. One of the witnesses is Fulk de Oyry, who died in 1231 (CRR XIV, No.1131).

96. William de Forz, count of Aumale, son of Countess Hawisa, confirms to Garendon abbey the gift of Ralf the Butler of 4 carucates in Eastwell, Leicestershire. 1214-1231

Original not found. Printed in Book of Seals, No.445; also Mon. Ang. V, p.334. One of the witnesses, Fulk de Oyry, died in 1231 (CRR XIV, No.1131). Seal illustrated as plate 10.

97. William de Forz, count of Aumale, grants Henry son of Robert 3 bovates in Thorlby (Skipton) which William de Buckden had held. 1214-1231

Original not found. Printed in EYC VII, No.38, from 17th-century transcript, Bodleian Dods. MS 83, f.40, from the original at Skipton castle. One of the witnesses, Fulk de Oyry, died in 1231 (CRR XIV, No.1131).



22. Charter of William de Forz II, count of Aumale, to Peter de Fauconberg. 1214-1231. Appendix A, No.98.

British Library

[illegible]

98. William de Forz, count of Aumale, grants Peter de Fauconberg in marriage with the Countess Aveline's sister Margaret, 11 bovates in Elstronwick, of the count's demesne. 1214-1231

Original in BL, Harl. Ch. 50.D.39. Printed in Genealogist (NS) XXXVI (1919), p.203.

William de Forz II had married Aveline before 1214. One of the witnesses, Fulk de Oyry, died in 1231 (CRR XIV, No.1131).

Illustrated as plate 22.

99. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to St Peter's hospital York (alias St Leonard's) a toft in Hedon, the gift of Alice daughter of William son of Haghe. 1214-1231

Original not found. In the cartulary of St Peter's York, Bodleian Rawl. MS B 455, f.184.

One of the witnesses, Fulk de Oyry, died in 1231 (CRR XIV, No.1131).

100. Notification by Thomas son of John, sheriff of Cumberland, and other named knights of Cumberland, that Richard Racin, then steward of William de Forz, count of Aumale, on 30 September 1231 brought letters to the sheriff from the count, asking him to exact from the count and the steward all the service and exactions they were accustomed to take from the vill of Appleton; the count's charter was read the same day in the county court of Carlisle, and the prior and canons of Guisborough have the charter. Dated 1231

Original not found. Notification in Guisborough Charty II, p.320, from Mon. Ang. VI (i), p.271.

101. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to the priory of St Bees all the gifts of his ancestors, from his fee of Allerdale and Copeland, that is, salmon, land in Aspatria and rents (Cumberland). 1214-1233

Original not found. Printed in St Bees Register, No.19, from the cartulary, BL Harl. MS 434, f.18.

One of the witnesses, Peter Giliot, constable of Cockermouth was dead by February 1233 (ECY VII, p.280).

102. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Robert Cnuel all the land which Stephen his father gave him in Silsden. 1214-1233 (c.1218-19)

Original not found. Printed in ECY VII, No.36, from Bodleian, Dods. MS 83, f.71d, from the original at Skipton castle in 1646. One of the witnesses, Peter Giliot, was constable of Skipton 1218-1219, and was dead by February 1233 (ECY VII, p.280).



Willelmus de Forz comes Aumale. Omnibus hominibus huius ita usque uel auditis. Sal. Longum pueritiam usque me  
concessisse et hoc pateri carta mea concessisse deo et Ecclesie sancte beate de Coupland et monachis ibidem de seruitutibus in  
pura et perpetua demofina p. soluta summe mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum omni donatione quas hinc pateri monachis  
et antecessoribus meis in fodo meo et Aligreda et de Coupland. Et licet quicquid saluacionis quos hinc de dono Alani filii Waldef  
et de eadem donatione omnia Capucina tunc in villa de Aligreda et sex ager tunc in alio loco in eadem uilla sic continetur in  
carta sancti Alani. Et sex Saluacionis quas hinc de dono sancte Alcie de romedij. et omnis carta argenti de eadem donatione  
sit in molendino filiorum de Colerem et una mansura in eadem uilla. Illam scilicet cum duobus tenentibus hucprou de eadem  
sic continetur in carta ipsius Alcie pateri deo concessi et hoc pateri carta mea confirmauit deo et Ecclesie beate beate de  
Coupland et monachis ibidem de seruitutibus. Unde carta argenti in de exlendino filiorum in pura et perpetua demofina  
singulis annis reddenda. scilicet medietate ad patercoltes. et alia medietate ad sanctum sci gastiun reddenda p. manu  
balliuorum meorum de eadem uilla. Volo etiam ut hec omnia pateri habeant pateri monachis de me et heredibus meis in pura  
et perpetua demofina sic pateri et Aligreda et de Coupland. Dno Castrio de Chandeng. Dno Thome kapt. Dno Wallo et  
pateri. Wallo de giffed tamē feneclaw de Colerem. Alano pateri de Cadet. Dno et gencio. Dno et haugrington.  
Castrio de ralemtur. Johne de briggham. Aliis et aliorum. Aliis et aliorum. Aliis et aliorum.





103. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Bolton priory 1 bovate in Beamsley and all the land in Storiths in Beamsley. 1214-1233

Original not found. Printed in ECY VII, No.37, from the 17th-century transcript Bodleian Dods. MS 8, f.24, from the original formerly in St Mary's Tower, York.

One witness, Peter Giliot, was dead by February 1233 (ECY VII, p.280).

104. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Thomas the clerk, nephew of Michael the carpenter of Cockermouth, the mill of Buttermere (Cumberland) in confirmation of the gift of Lady Alice de Rumilly to Michael the carpenter. 1214-1241

Original not found. 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 32, f.68d, from a 14th-century cartulary of the Lucy family of Cockermouth.

The witnesses included William de Drifffield, steward to the count, and suggest that this is a charter of William de Forz II, whose dates are given.

105. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to the canons of Bridlington the gift of William de Cayton, of the farm, service, custody and relief of the land of Thomas son of Oliver de Crohum in Lebberston. 1214-1241

Original not found. Abstract in Bridlington Charty, p.292, from the cartulary, BL Add. MS 40008, f.218.

The first witness is Geoffrey de Chandener, who went to Jerusalem with William de Forz II in 1241, witnessed several charters of William de Forz II and is not known to have witnessed any charters of William de Forz III.

Dates of William de Forz II.

106. William de Forz, count of Aumale, for his soul and that of his wife Aveline, confirms to the canons of Bridlington, gifts made from his fee in Ottringham, Sproatley, Lebberston, Winkton, Hallytreeholme, Beeford, Skirlington, Boynton, Atwick and Flinton. 1214-1241

Original not found. Abstract in Bridlington Charty, p.343, from the cartulary, BL Add. MS 40008, f.260.

The reference to his wife Aveline shows that the grantor was William de Forz II, whose dates are given.

107. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to the canons of Bridlington land in Ottringham and land and tofts in Hornsea Burton. 1214-1241

Original not found. Abstract in Bridlington Charty, p.342, from the cartulary, BL Add. MS 40008, f.259d.

This charter has the same witnesses as the preceding charter No.106, and therefore was granted by William de Forz II, whose dates are given.





108. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to the priory of St Bees, gifts from Allerdale and Copeland of his fee, that is salmon, land in Aspatria and rents; he also adds 1 mark in the fulling mill of Cockermouth (Cumberland). 1214-1241

Original BL Cotton Ch. XI.13. Printed from the original in Mon. Ang. III, p.578. Also printed in St Bees Register, No.21, from the cartulary, BL Harl. MS 434.

The witnesses include Geoffrey de Chandener and William de Driffild, see Nos. 104 and 105 above. Dates are those of William de Forz II.

Illustrated as plate 23.

109. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Hugh de Moriceby the gift of Brackenthwaite (Cumberland). 1214-1241

Original not found. 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 32, f.89d, from a 14th-century cartulary of the Lucy family of Cockermouth. Printed in St Bees Register, No.14. The witnesses include Geoffrey de Chandener (see No.15 above) & suggest that this is a charter of William de Forz II, whose dates are given.

110. William de Forz, count of Aumale, notifies Henry de Hutton (by writ) that he has given St Nicholas, Exeter, 20s. annual rent that Henry owes the count. 1214-1241

Original not found. In cartulary of St Nicholas, Exeter, BL Cotton Vit. D. IX, f.58d. The writ in the cartulary is preceded by a charter of William de Forz II increasing his ancestors' grant from 16s. rent to 20s. (No. 111 below). Dates of William de Forz II.

111. William de Forz, count of Aumale, grants St Nicholas, Exeter, 4s. annually to the 16s. annually from the rents of Hutton in Holderness granted them by his grandfather, William count of Aumale. 1214-1241

Original not found. In cartulary of St Nicholas, Exeter, BL Cotton Vit. D. IX, f.58. Dates of William de Forz II.

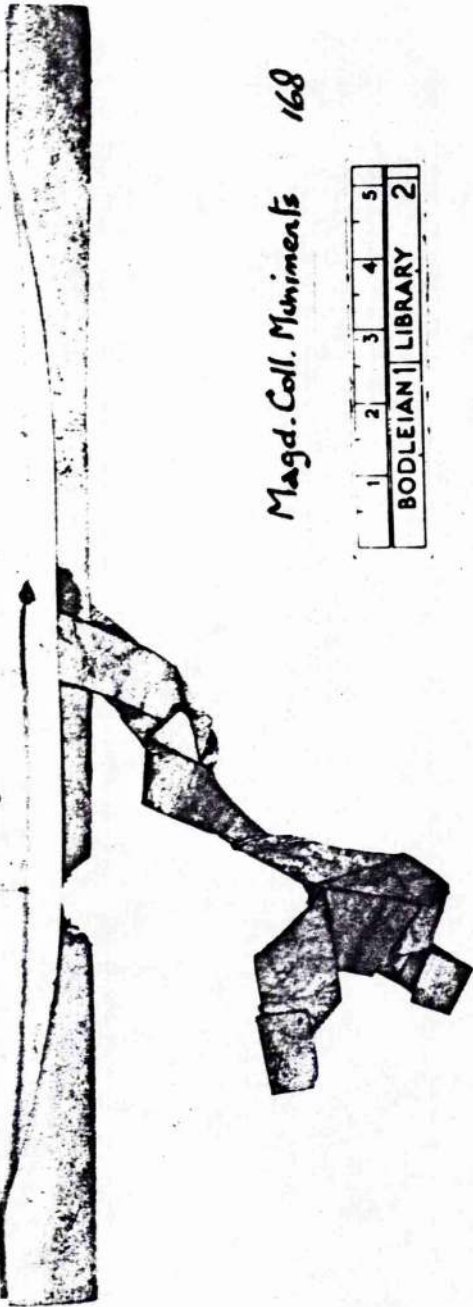
112. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to the hospital of SS James and John, Brackley, Northamptonshire, 1 virgate of land in Radstone Northamptonshire with toft and croft. 1214-1241

Original Oxford, Magdalen college muniments, B.99. The seal is that of William de Forz II, whose dates are given.

Illustrated as plate 24; seal illustrated as plate 10.



Omnes qui fidelibus hanc plenam scripturam inspecturi vel audierint. Willelmus de Forz Comes de Albemaria  
salute. Nos etiam ipsi nos caritatis intuitu et per saltem nos et animarum antecessorum nostrorum  
et successorum nostrorum concessisse et dedisse et declarasse de nobis et fidelibus nostris in perpetuum. Hoc et  
fidelibus nostris apostolorum Jacobi et Johannis de Brackley et liberam. pura et specialem elemosinam Andree  
filie Ricardi regis de Rodeston hominem nostrum et natum nostrum cum peca sequela sua et ex omni  
causa sua sit reclamatione et calumpnia nostra et fidelium nostrorum in perpetuum. Et ut hanc nostram concessio-  
nem et declarationem specialem gaudeant firmitate. hunc plenam scriptum sigillis nostris apposimus.  
Huius testibus. Galfridus de Crisford. Ricardus filius et magister de Crisford. Bogus de Blacolvest.  
Willelmus comes de Rodeston. Gilbertus de hant. Hugo de holderness. Philip de Wiceteld.  
Willelmus de Efordaunt. et multi alii.



113. William de Forz, count of Aumale, grants the hospital of SS James and John, Brackley, his villein Andrew son of Richard Mace of Radstone, Northamptonshire. 1214-1241

Original at Oxford, Magdalen college muniments, 168.  
The witnesses suggest this is a charter of William de Forz II. William de Forz I did not hold Radstone.

Illustrated as plate 25.

114. William de Forz, count of Aumale, returns and confirms to Alexander son of Roger a virgate of land in Radstone, Northamptonshire, with toft and croft, which Roger held of the gift of Alice de Rumilly. 1214-1241

Original at Oxford, Magdalen college muniments B.113.  
The witnesses suggest this is a charter of William de Forz II.

Illustrated as plate 26.

Other charters that may have been issued by William de Forz I, II or III are listed below, Nos. 131-43.





William de Forz III, count of Aumale

115. William de Forz son and heir of William de Forz count of Aumale quitclaims to St Mary's abbey York and William the abbot, all his right in the meres of Hornsea Burton and Wassand in Holderness. He also confirms the gift of the manor of Hornsea with Thorpe. 1239-1244 (1241?)

Original not found. Calendared in the cartulary of St Mary's York, Manchester, John Rylands Latin MS 221, f.269d (see No. 1 above for this MS).

William de Roundel, abbot of St Mary's York, was abbot not earlier than 1239. The opening phrase suggests William de Forz on the point of inheriting his land. William de Roundel died 1244. Provisional date of 1241.

116. William de Forz and Christiana his wife quitclaim their share of the inheritance of John, late earl of Chester, in exchange for Driffeld and Tingden, Northamptonshire. Dated 1241

Original not found. Printed in EHR XXXV (1920), p.54.  
Calendared in Cal.Ch.R. I, p.263.

117. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Bolton priory 2 bovates in Stirton (Skipton), given by Geoffrey Mori. 1241-1249

Original not found. Printed in EYC VII, No.40, from 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 8:f.13, from the original formerly in St Mary's Tower, York.  
Drawing of the seal of William de Forz III. The first witness is Michael, abbot of Meaux 1235-1249.

118. William de Forz, count of Aumale, grants William Anglicus his serjeant and his heirs all the land in Bradley which he had of the gift of Ralph de Mitton. 1241-1251

Original not found. Printed in EYC VII, No.41, from 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 83, f.19d, from the original at Skipton castle in 1646.  
The first witness is Henry le Moigne, steward, who was dead by 1251 (PRO, Assize R. 1046, f.46d).

119. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Bolton priory the vill of Eastby and land in Halton East and Scothrop. 1241-1260

Original not found. Printed in EYC VII, No.42, from 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 144, f.5d, from the Bolton cartulary, f.5.  
One witness, Robert Daniel, was steward to William de Forz III.

120. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to the poor men of St Peter's York a toft of 1 acre in Hedon, the gift of William le Gros (sic) and adds further privileges. 1241-1260

Original not found. Inspeximus of 1297 calendared in Cal. Ch.R. II, p.440. Also in cartulary of St Peter's York, Bodleian Rawl. MS B 455, f.184.  
The witnesses point to this being a charter of William de Forz III.

121. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms for his soul, that of William his father and that of Aveline his mother, to St Mary's abbey Thornton, gifts from his fee. 1241-1260

Original not found. Inspeximus of 1301, calendared in Cal.Ch.R. III, p.10  
The reference to his parents makes this a charter of William de Forz III, whose dates are given.

122. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to the canons of Malton the gifts they have had from Ralf son of Ralf de Bolebec in Levisham, that is the mill, meadow by the church, other land and a villein. 1241-1260

Original not found. In the cartulary of Malton priory, BL Cotton MS Claud. D.XI, f.118d.  
This charter has no witnesses in the cartulary. On the grounds that it is in the 1st person plural, and that the grantor is called William de Fortibus not Forz, it is tentatively assigned to William de Forz III, who is called Fortibus on his seal, and whose charters are often in the 1st person plural.

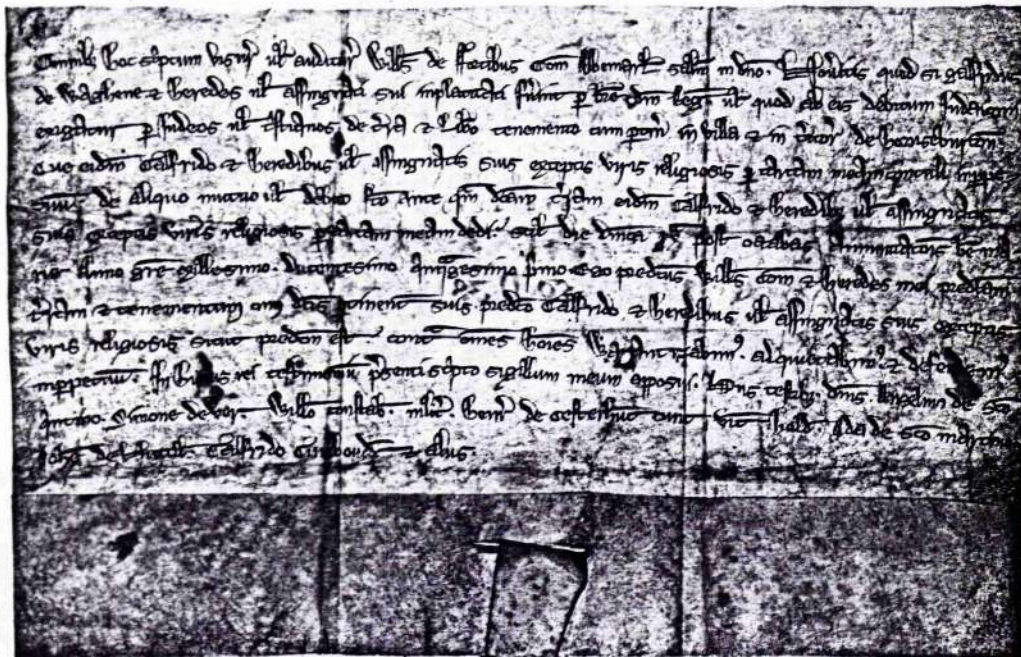
123. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Croxton abbey gifts in Eaton, Leicestershire and Branston, Leicestershire. 1241-1260

Original not found. Inspeximus of 1290 in Cal.Ch.R. II, p.381. Also printed in Nichols, History of Leicestershire II (i), p.91. The witnesses include many members of the count's administration and show that this was a charter of William de Forz III, whose dates are given.

124. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Marton priory the manor of Woodhouse in Appletreewick, and land and liberties there which the canons had of the gift of Sir Henry de Neville, his friend. 1241-1260

Original charter bound in Whitaker's own copy of Craven, now in the possession of H.L. Bradfer-Lawrence Esq. Printed in EYC VII, No.39, from the original. 17th-century copy in Bodleian, Dods. MS 8, f.11d. from the original formerly in St Mary's Tower, York.  
The seal drawn by Dodsworth indicates that this is a charter of William de Forz III, whose dates are given.





27. Charter of William de Forz III, count of Aumale, to Geoffrey de Wawne. 1251-1260. Appendix A, No.129.

British Library



125. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms the gift of Saier son of Saier de Sutton of pasture in Sutton to Meaux abbey. 1241-1260  
 Original not found. 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.236d, from the original once in St Mary's Tower, York.  
 The witnesses include many members of the count's administration and show that this was a charter of William de Forz III, whose dates are given.
126. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms the gift of 2 bovates in Newton next Aldbrough to the nuns of Nunkeeling for their clothing. 1241-1260  
 Original not found. 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.264, from the original once in St Mary's Tower, York.  
 The witnesses include members of the count's administration and show that this was a charter of William de Forz III, whose dates are given.
127. William de Forz, count of Aumale, quitclaims to Fountains abbey all the vill of Crosthwaite, Cumberland, and the advowson of the church there. 1249-1252  
 Original not found. Abstracted in Fountains Charty, p.60, from BL Cotton MS Tib.C.xii, ff.97-98.  
 One witness is William, abbot of Meaux from 1249 to 1269.  
 Another witness is William Dacre, sheriff of York in 1248, 1249, 1250 and 1252.
128. William de Forz, count of Aumale, makes an agreement with John, prior of Bridlington and the convent there, over services for land the convent holds in Skirlington. 1250-1255.  
 Original not found. Abstract in Bridlington Charty, pp 343-344, from the cartulary BL Add. MS 40008, f.259d.  
 John was prior of Bridlington from 1250 to 1255.
129. William de Forz, count of Aumale, notifies that he will warrant to Geoffrey de Wawne the land and tenement he gave him in Hornsea Burton, against certain specified claims, if their origin be earlier than his charter of donation, 2 April 1251. 1251-1260  
 Original BL Harl. Ch. 50 D.38. Printed in Book of Seals No.66.  
 Not before 1251, and before 1260 when Count William died.

Illustrated as plate 27.

130. William de Forz, count of Aumale, makes an agreement with Adam prior of Bolton over lands in Silsden and Embsay. Dated 1257

Original not found. Printed in EYC VII, No. 43, from 17th-century transcript in Bodleian, Dods. MS 8, f. 13, from the original formerly in St Mary's Tower, York. Also copy in Dods. MS 144, f. 59d, from the Bolton cartulary.

Other charters that may have been issued by William de Forz I, II or III are listed below, Nos. 131-143.

Charters of the countsWilliam de Forz, count of Aumale (I, II or III)

131. William, count of Aumale, confirms to the leprous brothers of Carlton le Moorland, Lincolnshire, the gift of Ralf de Amundeville, 4 bovates and a messuage in Carlton. post 1214??

Original not found. In the cartulary of Burton Lazaars, BL Cotton MS Nero C.XII, f.116d.

The gift of Ralf, confirmed here, was made in 1180, the year the young king was married: not 1137, the alternative date, as the hospital was not founded then.

One witness is Elias de Amundeville. One Elias died in 1179, and there was not another Elias at Carlton until 1200-1201, suggesting that this charter must be later than the time of William le Gros, William de Mandeville and William de Forz I. The other witnesses suggest a 12th century date, and it is possible the charter is a forgery.

132. William, count of Aumale, confirms to William de Eseyby a convention made by others about Dean and Eaglesfield, Cumberland.

Original not found. Printed in St Bees Register, No.382, from the cartulary, BL Harl. MS 434, f.156d.

One of the witnesses is William the Hare, whose relation Walter gave land to Meaux abbey between 1210 and 1220 (CM I, p.360). Date unknown.

133. William de Forz, count of Aumale, issues letters of protection to Malton priory. 1190-1260

Original not found. Two different versions (perhaps from two different counts?) are in the cartulary of Malton priory, BL Cotton MS D.XI, ff. 173d, 174. No witnesses. Date unknown.

134. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Malton priory land in Thorpe and Rillington. 1190-1260

Original not found. In the cartulary of Malton priory, BL Cotton MS D.XI, f.173d. No witnesses. Date unknown.

135. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Malton priory land in Thorpe and Rillington. 1190-1260

Original not found. In the cartulary of Malton priory, BL Cotton MS D.XI, f.173d. No witnesses. Date unknown.

136. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Malton priory gifts of lands in Rillington and Thorpe, and also all the other lands confirmed by William de Forz his father. 1214-1260

Original not found. In the cartulary of Malton priory, BL Cotton MS D.XI, ff.173d-174.

The phrase "confirmed by William de Forz his father" makes it certain that this is a charter of William de Forz II or William de Forz III.

137. William de Forz, count of Aumale, enjoins on all his bailiffs and men protection for the canons of Bridlington. 1190-1260

Original not found. Abstract in Bridlington Charty, p.327, from the cartulary BL Add.MS 40008, f.247.  
No witnesses. Date unknown.

138. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Croxton abbey land of his fee in Eaton, Leicestershire. 1190-1260

Original not found. Printed by Nichols, History of Leicestershire II (i), p.91 from Croxton abbey records once at Belvoir castle.  
No witnesses. Date unknown.

139. William de Forz, count of Aumale, takes into his protection Robert de Wassand, knight, and all his lands and tenements. 1190-1260

Original not found. Calendared in the cartulary of St Mary's abbey, York; Manchester, John Rylands Latin MS 221, f.270d.

No witnesses. There are many Robert de Wassands holding land in northern Holderness; the same cartulary contains a series of charters of Robert de Wassand, knight, c.1239-1244, and perhaps this charter comes from the same period.

140. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Nunkeeling 3... in Nunkeeling. 1190-1260

Original not found. In cartulary of Nunkeeling, BL Cotton MS Otho C. viii, f.66, damaged text.  
No witnesses. Date unknown.

141. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Nunkeeling 2 bovates of land in Newton next Aldbrough (East Newton). 1190-1260

Original not found. In cartulary of Nunkeeling, BL Cotton MS Otho C. viii, f.85.  
No witnesses. Date unknown.

142. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to Meaux abbey a carucate of land in Thorpe given them by William de Cauz. 1190-1260

Original not found. In cartulary of Meaux, BL Lansd. MS 424, f.120.  
Three witnesses, one being Philip Master of Swine.  
Date unknown.



143. William de Forz, count of Aumale, confirms to St Mary's abbey York the manor of Hornsea in Holderness to hold as the charters of his ancestors testify.

Original not found. Calendared only in the cartulary of St Mary's abbey York: Manchester, John Rylands Latin MS 221, f.269d.

No witnesses. Date unknown.

The stewards of the counts of Aumale 1086-1260Robert

He occurs as dapifer once between 1112 and 1122, in the address of a royal writ to Stephen count of Aumale and Robert his dapifer and all his ministers of Holderness (1).

Albert

He occurs once as dapifer of Stephen count of Aumale between 1115 and 1130(2).

Peter de Ros

The first steward who can be clearly identified. He married Adeline, sister of Walter Espec, lord of Helmsley, and a leading northern baron. Peter was described as Peter de Ros in a charter of Henry II dated 1156-1157 confirming his gifts of land and the church of Gilling to St Mary's York (3), and in a charter confirming his gift of Atwick in Holderness to Bridlington priory he was called Peter the dapifer of Holderness (4). The family name came from Roos in Holderness. Peter was the father of Everard the dapifer, and also of Robert I de Ros the constable (see next entry and the list of constables, pp. 112-4). In the late 13th century the Ros family held land marginally less than one knight's fee in Roos, Atwick, and eight other places in Holderness, and widespread lands in the North Riding, inherited from Walter Espec. Peter de Ros was probably dead by 1130 and was buried at Rievaulx.

Everard de Ros

In 1130 Everard dapifer of William de Aumale accounted for two gold marks, worth £12, that he might no longer be dapifer of William (5). He was the son of a former steward, Peter de Ros, and was a member of a Holderness family. He gave the church of Atwick in Holderness to Bridlington priory, a gift confirmed c.1128 by Henry I and reaffirmed between 1138 and 1140 (6). He notified his brother Robert and others that he had quitclaimed land in the North Riding to Whitby, and confirmed lands to Rievaulx (7).

After 1130 Everard continued to be associated with the Aumale household. He witnessed two charters of William le Gros, an enfeoffment at Bonwick, Holderness, c.1150, where he was the first witness, and a grant relating to Barrow, Lincolnshire, made at Barrow (8). He also witnessed a charter to Beverley from the archbishop of York, together with

his count (9).

Everard was the eldest son of Peter de Ros the dapifer (10) and married one Eustachia (11). He died in or before 1153 and was succeeded by his younger brother Robert de Ros I (12).

#### Robert de Ros

Robert de Ros was possibly dapifer although never definitely so named. One R. dapifer occurs 1138-1140 as a witness to a charter by Everard de Ros (13). Robert was the younger son of Peter de Ros the dapifer, and brother of Everard. He was described as Robert de Ros, the constable, son of Peter the dapifer, in a charter to Selby abbey (14). He witnessed a charter of Henry II to Scarborough, where he was for several years in charge of the works at the king's castle. He also witnessed three charters of William le Gros, two of which can be dated c.1150 (15). He married Sybil de Valognes and died in 1162 or 1163, his son being a minor until 1168 (16).

#### Ivo

Ivo the dapifer occurs with a group of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire tenants of the count of Aumale as a witness to a charter of William le Gros (17). Similar witnesses occur c.1149-1150 (18) which may perhaps date Ivo's occurrence to about this time. He does not witness any other of William le Gros's surviving charters.

#### William de Ottringham

Known as William de Ottringham II, he was the son of Richard de Ottringham, who was the younger brother and heir of William de Ottringham I, also known as William the knight (19). Richard and William I gave the church of Ottringham to Bridlington priory c.1134-1138 (20), Ottringham being a village in south Holderness.

William de Ottringham was dapifer to both William le Gros and his son-in-law William de Mandeville, counts of Aumale. He witnessed as dapifer a charter of William le Gros between 1154 and 1179, second in the witness list after Robert Constable (for whom see below), and as W. the dapifer he witnessed a charter of William de Mandeville between 1179-1184, also following Robert Constable (21). Between 1170 and 1185 he witnessed two charters of Robert Constable as dapifer comitis (22). Without named office he witnessed seven charters of William le Gros, including one at Barrow and one at Hedon, and later four charters of William de Mandeville (23).

In 1167 William de Ottringham was amerced for default in an appeal and again in 1175-1176, and the next year for a false claim, a debt paid off in 1177-1178 (24). He gave Nun Appleton priory (near York) land in Killingholme (25) and he also gave, before 1181, the nuns of Nun Cotham a messuage in Killingholme and rents there and in Hackthorne, Lincolnshire (26). He confirmed to the Gilbertine priory of Bullington, Lincolnshire, the moiety of Hackthorne church and land at Cold Hanworth, both in Lincolnshire (27). In 1181 he obtained a recognition about land in Yorkshire against Hugh de Verli, a Holderness tenant of the archbishop of York (28). He was probably alive in 1191, when the sheriff accounted for his debts to Aaron the Jew of Lincoln (29), and he died before 1194 when his heirs were at law over the inheritance in Ottringham and Killingholme (30). At his death he gave a garden in Ottringham to Bridlington priory, which his heirs confirmed as the gift of William the seneschal (31).

Whether he was married or not remains uncertain, for one of his heirs in 1200 offered 30 marks for an inquiry as to whether William de Ottringham ever married Lecia de Cowlam, mother of a claimant to the inheritance (32). His descendants held  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a knight's fee in Ottringham and four carucates of land in Killingholme (33).

#### Robert Constable of Halsham

Robert Constable, the steward, was known as the elder to distinguish him from his nephew and heir, and "of Halsham" to distinguish him and his family from the Constables of Flamborough, also in the East Riding. He was the son of Ulbert, the constable of the count (34) and Ulbert's wife Erneburga de Burton (hence the modern name of Burton Constable, where the family settled). He was born not later than c.1130-1135 (35) and is first recorded as a witness between 1150 and 1153 (36). He had succeeded his father before 1176 (37).

Robert Constable gave the church of Halsham to the provost of Beverley (38) and also held lands in Fraisthorpe, Marton, Newton Constable and Tharlesthorpe in Holderness. He witnessed fifteen of William le Gros's charters of various date limits, including charters issued at Aumale, at Hedon, at Hornsea and at Driffild, and also four of William de Mandeville's charters, but was never in these charters described as steward (39). He was a knight of the count of Aumale.

Between 1170 and 1185 he made a settlement of lands in Fraisthorpe on his half brothers the Alosts (40). In 1188 he gave his demesne land of Tharlesthorpe to Meaux abbey, with the consent and at the request of William de Mandeville, at Whitsunday at Lambwath in Holderness (41).



For this gift, which was 500 acres and included the chief messuage, and for the pledge of his villis of Tharlesthorpe and Halsham, the monks of Meaux lent him the enormous sum of 160 marks for the expenses of his crusade. He went on crusade with Richard I in 1189, being then an old man and "full of days" (42). He died at the siege of Acre in 1190 or 1191, being described by Roger of Howden who was at Acre also as "the seneschal of William de Mandeville" (43). As he was never named seneschal in other documents, it is possible that Roger of Howden made a mistake and that he was really the constable, particularly as the term seneschal does not seem to have been used in Holderness at this time. On the other hand, Roger of Howden may have known his fellow Yorkshireman both in the East Riding and at Acre sufficiently well to remember his position.

If Robert Constable was a steward, he may have held office before William de Ottringham, or after him. In several of the witness lists to the counts' charters he precedes William de Ottringham, as if he was more senior, but not in all in the lists, and in two lists in which he precedes William de Ottringham, William is described as dapifer (44). In two charters of 1170-1185 William de Ottringham dapifer of the count witnesses a family settlement by Robert Constable himself (45).

He had no children (perhaps was not married) and was succeeded by his nephew Robert II (son of his brother William). His younger brother William, who died in Robert's lifetime, held an unspecified office of the count of Aumale for which he was given an annual rent of £5 by William le Gros, the charter being witnessed by Robert (46).

At the death of William de Mandeville in France in 1189, the household of the Aumales suffered a minor revolution. For the old officials of William le Gros had continued to be employed in the time of his son-in-law Count William de Mandeville: but now all was to change. The countess's new husband, William de Forz the Poitevin adventurer, was forced upon her by the king, and her goods had to be distrained upon before she would consent to marry him. The old officials may have been as unwilling as the countess to accept the new lord: at any event the former steward William de Ottringham, although he probably lived until 1191, was replaced by a succession of other men who did not stay long.

Erald

Occurs once as dapifer to William de Forz I, between 1190 and 1195 and preceding William Brito (47). Nothing is known of him.

William Brito

William Brito occurs as dapifer in witness lists to charters of William de Forz I between 1190 and 1195 (48). As he is included in a list, but without office, in which Erald the dapifer occurs, it is probable that he was steward later than Erald (49).

William Brito's grandfather Ralph Brito was squire to a French knight called Odo de Maunsel, and was enfeoffed with lands in Skerne, a village just outside Holderness, in the reign of Henry I. Ralph's son William was the father of William "the seneschal" (50).

Although Brito was a common name in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire it is probable that it was the same William Brito who was deputy sheriff of Yorkshire in 1200 (51) and deputy sheriff to William de Stuteville in 1201 (52). He was possibly employed by the sheriff in 1203 when he witnessed a charter together with William de Percy the sheriff (53). The document which connects William Brito the dapifer with William Brito the deputy sheriff is the charter of William de Forz I to Rievaulx which is witnessed by Walter son of Hugh, the subsheriff of York and also by William Brito the dapifer (54). By 1230 W. Brito was acting as a justice for the archbishop of York, Walter de Grey. Later in his life William Brito turned to the cloister, and was "homo noster et ballivus" to Meaux abbey for their Skerne lands for some time between 1221 and 1249. He died a novice at Meaux (55).

Aro de Beauchamp

Aro de Beauchamp (Bello Campo) occurs as dapifer to William de Forz I, being the third steward the count employed in his five years as count of Aumale (56). The name Beauchamp is a common one, and nothing is known of him. One Simon de Beauchamp witnessed two charters of William de Mandeville in 1181 (57).

Walter de Heselton

Walter de Heselton was described as "our dapifer" by Baldwin de Bethune in a witness list dated between 1195 and 1201, in which he precedes Fulk de Oyry. He also occurs as steward (seneschallus) of the count of Aumale in

a quitclaim of Bolton priory to Fountains abbey, between 1195 and 1207 (58). He was probably related to the Geoffrey de Heselton who witnessed charters of Baldwin de Béthune and Countess Hawisa, and was also guardian of a tenant of the Skipton fee in 1214 (59).

#### Magister Philip de Langbar

The hamlet of Langbar lies between Beamsley and Nesfield in the West Riding, and was part of the honour of Skipton (60). Philip de Langbar, a clerk, occurs as seneschal to Baldwin de Béthune and Hawisa, countess of Aumale, in the opening years of the 13th century. He witnessed a charter of Countess Hawisa where he is described as seneschal, and a charter of Sir Nicholas de Chavincourt to Swine nunnery as seneschal, following the name of Baldwin de Béthune (61). Without named office he witnesses other charters of Baldwin de Béthune and Countess Hawisa and their tenants (62).

He is probably the Philip clericus who was an attorney for the count of Aumale in 1200, together with Fulk de Ory (63). He was the donor of land in Dringhoe, which he had previously bought, to Nunkeeling nunnery in Holderness (64).

Philip de Langbar was presented by his lord Baldwin de Béthune to half the church of Wawne and to Sutton chapel, during the minority of the Sutton patron of the chapel, Baldwin having the wardship, before 1210 (65). On the death of the other incumbent of Wawne before 1210 he obtained the whole church, despite the opposition of Meaux abbey. Being the count's steward and therefore all powerful he seized the tithes of Wawne from Meaux (66). He may be the same man as the Philip de Langbar who was presented to the church of St Martin and All Saints, Hereford, by King John on 5 June 1214 (67). What happened to the lawsuit over Wawne is unknown; but Philip de Langbar died in possession of Sutton chapel. He was certainly dead by 1242 when Saer de Sutton sought leave to present to the chapel (68), and possibly by 1230 when the church was annexed to the chancellorship of York (69).

#### Fulk de Ory

Fulk de Ory was a Lincolnshire man from Whaplode and Gedney. He was in the service of Baldwin de Béthune by 1199 and was first described as the count's steward in 1204. He remained the head of the counts' administration for Baldwin, Hawisa and William de Forz II until 1220. He was dead by 1231 (70).

### Alan de Hyde

Alan de Hyde was called the seneschal of the count of Aumale at Easter 1208 (71). He is not called seneschal on any other occasion, but appeared in 1212 as an attorney for the count (72). He was probably related to Fulk de Hyde who occurred in 1200 and 1201 as attorney for Count Baldwin. By 1224-1225 he was the seneschal of William Marshall, second earl of Pembroke, who had married Baldwin de Béthune's daughter Alice (73). Baldwin de Béthune is said to have endowed Alice with all the lands he himself (as opposed to those he had in right of his wife) held in England, and possibly Alan de Hyde was steward for those lands (74).

In the 1220s and 1230s the number of stewards is greatest. It is possible that after the withdrawal of Fulk de Ory from the administration of the counts, a number of stewards was tried for a short time and the men were then discarded; it is also possible that each group of estates had its own steward at this time, as was the case later in the century (75); if the men were in fact stewards for Skipton, Holderness and Cockermouth they are not so distinguished in the records. The order in which they are listed below is not necessarily that in which the men held office.

### William Passemer

William Passemer was a member of a Lincolnshire family which established itself in Hedon. William's brother was called Geoffrey, and his son was Stephen, who often witnessed deeds with his father, and was sheriff of Holderness (76). Another William Passemer was a York minster official and canon, witnessing a Hedon charter as Magister William Passemer, canon of York, c.1235, who held North Cave church in the East Riding from 1247 and became a canon of St Paul's and archdeacon of London (77).

About 1200 W. Passemer (probably the steward) granted land in Quadring to the chapter of Lincoln for the souls of his father and mother and the countess of Brittany (78). In 1202 William Passemer and Lucia his wife were engaged in a plea about half a messuage in Boston (79). William Passemer of Hedon gave Newhouse, a Lincolnshire abbey, a rent of 12d. per year from property in Hedon (80).

William Passemer occurs as a witness several times in the first twenty years of the 13th century (81); as steward, 1221-1235; in company with Stephen Passemer, the sheriff, as the count's steward between 1214 and 1231, as steward to William de Forz II in two charters, as bailiff, and with Stephen his son (82). As William Passemer of Hedon he witnessed a charter of Countess Hawisa to Fulk de Ory before 1214 (83); and as William Passemer the bailiff he witnessed an early 13th-century Hedon



charter (84). Other undated occurrences in witness lists which might refer to another William Passemer are not collected here.

William Passemer apparently felt he was dying some time in the decade between 1210 and 1220, when he gave land in Hedon to Meaux abbey with his body (85). He survived, however, to witness an agreement with the abbey between 1221 and 1235, and also to give the abbey two closes in Ringbrough Newton in Holderness in the same period (86).

#### William de Drifffield

Sir William de Drifffield occurs as seneschal to William de Forz II in a Cockermouth charter (87) and on two occasions as seneschal of Cockermouth (88). It is possible that he was steward for Cockermouth only and not for all the Aumale estates: but in 1224 William de Drifffield was the first-named of a group of men who had failed to bring five Holderness defendants, including the count of Aumale, to the justices. His responsibility in this case suggests he was either steward, sheriff or bailiff of the count (89). Other stewards of Cockermouth, Robert de Hampton (perhaps c.1230) and Richard de Gedney (c.1272) occur as witnesses in the St Bees register, as do stewards of Copeland Richard Brun (c.1240) and Elias the clerk (1250) (90).

#### William de Hebden

William de Hebden's family were tenants of the Aumales' Skipton fee, and an account of the family is given by Sir Charles Clay in Early Yorkshire Charters (Skipton fee) and Early Yorkshire Families. Their lands lay in Coniston and in Hebden in Craven, Coniston being part of the Skipton fee and Hebden part of the Mowbray fee. William the steward was the son of Simon de Hebden, who was living in 1200-1201, and he was a knight in 1218 (91). As constable of Skipton he witnessed a charter before Michaelmas 1219 and charters to Bolton priory (92). He became steward to William de Forz II, and as such witnessed a charter of Eustace de Rilston II, 1229-1234 (93). Without office he witnessed many charters relating to the Aumales' Skipton fee. Between 1229 and 1234 he bought land in Burnsall and Thorpe (West Riding) for money given to quit the donor of the debts of the Jews (94).

He died before 9 December 1234 and his heir was his daughter Helen, wife of Robert the Chamberlain (95). After the death of her first husband Helen married Nicholas of York, brother of William of York, provost of Beverley and bishop of Salisbury (96), a family holding land at Eske in Holderness. This remote connection is the only tenurial connection between the Hebdens and Holderness that has been found.

William de Redburn

Sir William de Redburn, steward of Holderness, occurs about 1230 (97). Nothing else is known of him, and he does not witness any of the count's charters. The family is not known in the Skipton or Holderness fees, and possibly came from Pickering, where the Aumales held some land, for in 1231 William son of William de Redburn occurs there, and c.1190-1210 a William de Redburn witnesses a Ryedale charter (98).

John de Langbar

John de Langbar steward of the counts of Aumale occurs in Holderness in 1230-1231 (99). John medicus, steward, also occurs 1230-1231 (100), and it may be hazarded that they are the same man. John was presumably related to Philip de Langbar, an earlier steward. Nothing else is known of him and he does not witness any of the count's charters.

Richard Racin

Richard Racin occurs as steward to the count of Aumale in September 1231, when he came to the county court at Carlisle with letters about service due to the count, which were read out in court (101). He and his family held land in the north of Holderness, and over the northern boundary. He granted Bridlington priory the fishery he had made to their harm, and land in Beeford (102). Other members of the family held land in Fraisthorpe, just outside Holderness (103). Richard Racin witnessed a charter relating to Kelk, a quitclaim made in the court of the abbot of York and the wapentake of Holderness, and a charter relating to Beeford, all without office (104).

Robert Pincerna

Robert Pincerna, or Butler, occurs as steward to the count of Aumale in 1236 as a witness to a charter about Winkton, a deserted village in Holderness, which is quoted by Poulson (105). None of the Winkton charters quoted by Poulson as then belonging to the Boyntons is now among the Wickham Boynton papers at the East Riding Record Office, or among those published by the East Riding Antiquarian Society. Robert may be the same man as Robert de Roppesle, son of Amand Pincerna, who confirmed land in Hatfield, Holderness, to Nunkeeling, was connected with the Frismareis family and gave land in Grimston, Holderness, to Meaux abbey between 1210 and 1220 (106).

### Henry le Moigne

Henry le Moigne or Monachus was steward to William de Forz III. He witnessed four charters of the count as steward in the period 1241-1256 (107); also a charter of Hugh Bardolf to the chapter of York as second witness after the count, as "domino Henrico le Moigne tunc senescallo ipsius comitis" (108), a charter to Nunkeeling and a charter relating to Arnold in Holderness, all as steward (109).

Nothing is known of Sir Henry's origins, and indeed his surname rather suggests a landless man. He was however connected with the family of Fulk de Oryr, for in 1251 Sir Henry's son William brought an action of morte d'ancestor against the heirs of Fulk for lands in Paull Holme, Keyingham and Ottringham, all in Holderness. The heirs claimed that Geoffrey de Oryr, son of Fulk, gave Henry le Moigne all the land for his life only, whereas William le Moigne claimed the gift was "of fee" (110).

In 1246 he was acting as "sumpter" of the count when he took the crop of some disputed land to a house in the count's fee where the forage was kept by the sumpter. Henry le Moigne, as sumpter of the count, was ordered by the justices in eyre to restore the corn (111).

He was still alive in 1246 but possibly dead by 1250 when his son William was involved in a case over land in Whapplode and Holbeach, Lincolnshire (112) and certainly dead by 1251 (113).

### Robert Daniel

Robert Daniel succeeded Henry le Moigne as steward to William de Forz III. He was probably the same as the Sir Robert Daniel of Lockington (a village near Beverley) who witnessed a charter about neighbouring Etton (114). He witnessed as steward to William de Forz in 1256 an indenture relating to St Sepulchre Hedon (115) and two undated charters of the count to Thornton abbey and Bolton priory (116); without office he witnessed a charter of the count to Meaux abbey (117).

He may have been the Robert son of Daniel who gained the manor of Wymundethorpe (now Thorpe, parish of Lockington) and land in Lockington after a fine of August 1247 (118). In 1260 the abbot of Meaux demanded of Robert Daniel that he do the proper service due for the free tenement which he held of the abbot in Lockington (119). His father may have been the Daniel of Lockington whose homage and service was given to Meaux abbey between 1236 and 1249 (120).

Robert Daniel later became a royal justice, and was one of the justices present when a fine was made at Beverley in November 1257, an eyre of which very little is known (121).

Details of the stewards after Robert Daniel are given by Denholm Young as:-

(Estates stewards to Countess Isabella de Fortibus)

Geoffrey Russell

Ralph de Grenham

John de La Warre 1268-1274

Godfrey de Acre 1274-1275

William de Merley 1275-1276

Adam de Stratton 1277

John de St Helena 1290

(122)

None of these is a Holderness tenant.



The sheriffs of the counts of Aumale 1086-1260

Ingelram

The name of Ingelram vicecomes of Aumale occurs frequently in the period 1086-1225 and creates two problems. Firstly there were obviously several men of the same name and title, yet it is unfortunately impossible to distinguish between them. Secondly Ingelram occurs in Holderness after the loss of Aumale to Philip Augustus, apparently using his title without office: he does not seem to have been an English vicecomes although living in England.

Between 1086 and 1096 Ingelram vicecomes gave St Martin d'Auchy at Aumale a hood, a gold chalice and another chalice; another man gave tithes with the agreement of his lord Ingelram vicecomes, and the counts of Aumale gave all the jurisdiction of the vicomté over the church's lands in one vill (omnem vicecomitatum totius terre ecclesie), and all the tithes of the land of Ingelram vicecomes. The same documents also mention William the son of Ingelram vicecomes as a donor (123).

Ingelram vicecomes was a witness to the deed which made St Martin d'Auchy into an abbey, between 1115 and 1130 (124) and to another deed relating to St Martin's dated 1135 (125).

It is possible that all the above references are to one man, although it implies (at most) an adult life of 49 years. No more is known of Ingelram vicecomes until the end of the 12th century when Ingelram vicecomes of Aumale, or Ingelram of Aumale, occurs many times between about 1195 and 1225, both in England and Normandy (126).

From the above evidence it may be supposed that two or more men called Ingelram were vicecomites (vicomtes) of Aumale, occurring in two phases between approximately 1086 and 1135, and between approximately 1195 and 1225. They were men of substance in the early period, giving substantial gifts to the church at Aumale of plate, vestments and tithes. It is probable that the office was a hereditary one, continuing in the same family for many generations, as was common in Normandy at this period (127). Their jurisdiction of the vicomté was held from the counts of Aumale. Subsequently, perhaps after the loss of Normandy, they occur holding lands in Skeffling, Holderness, which they had been given by the count of Aumale (128), although an Ingelram vicecomes is still able to witness a charter in Aumale in 1214 (129).

The position of the vicomte in Normandy was unlike that of the English sheriff in many ways (130) and it is not thought that the vicomes of Aumale had any jurisdiction in England. On one occasion Ingelram of Aumale occurs as a witness together with Rannulf the sheriff, a known sheriff of Holderness, who precedes Ingelram in the list (131).

The men who are considered below were all sheriffs of Holderness, the only part of the Aumale territories in England to be administered by a seignorial sheriff. The sheriff is mentioned in the form of address of Count Stephen's charters from 1115 (132) so that the shrievalty, and therefore the liberty, may be presumed to have existed from at least the first half of the 12th century, although no sheriff's name is known until c.1150.

#### William

William the sheriff witnessed the agreement, c.1150, made between William le Gros count of Aumale and John de Meaux, by which the count acquired the land on which he established Meaux abbey in January 1151. This important document was witnessed by a great many of the count's tenants and officers (133). It was probably the same man who witnessed as W. the sheriff a quitclaim made before the chapter of the rural deanery at Hedon, 1153-1162 (134); three of the same witnesses occur in both documents.

#### Rannulf

Rannulf the sheriff, who is once called Rannulf the clerk (135) occurs in many Holderness charters, ranging from the 1190s to approximately 1230. He witnessed dated documents of 1201, 1207, 1214 and 1218 (136). He also witnessed many charters of imprecise date, including charters of Countess Hawisa, Count Baldwin and Count William de Forz II (137). It was to Rannulf the sheriff and the bailiff of Hedon that a villein, who had been quitclaimed to the count of Aumale and the free borough by his master, was delivered (138). Another charter which he witnessed was made "coram wapentac apud Heddona" (139).

Rannulf had a son John, who occasionally witnessed charters with or without his father, as John son of Rannulf, John son of the sheriff or John son of Rannulf the sheriff (140).

#### Peter de la Twyer

The Twyer family were descended from one Alan son of Hubert, the man and governor (homo et gubernator) of the count of Aumale, who was enfeoffed by

Count William le Gros before 1179 with land in the parish of Preston, next to Hedon, called Pollard and Twyers (1141). The family took their name from the place Twyers and remained an important family in Hedon for many generations (until the 15th century at least). Alan son of Hubert founded the leper hospital of the Holy Sepulchre at Hedon, and gave the hospital part of his patrimony of Twyers, a gift confirmed by his son Richard (1142).

Peter de la Twyer was the son of Adam de la Twyer, Adam being another son of Alan son of Hubert (1143). Adam occurs as bailiff of Hedon early in the 13th century during the shrievalty of Rannulf (1144); he was a tenant of the archbishop in Frismarsh from at least 1202 (1145) and the donor of land in Burton Fleming to the canons of Bridlington (1146).

By 1226 Peter was of age, for he made a fine with Roland de la Twyer over four messuages and 15s. annual rent in Hedon (1147). About this time (c.1226-1236) he witnessed a charter of Hawisa, prioress of Swine (1148) and in 1230-1231 he successfully defended his tenure of land in Frismarsh (1149). In 1233 he was granted the custody and marriage of an heiress by the archbishop of York (150). Between 1235 and 1249 he bought lands from Meaux abbey in Hornsea Burton, lands that were subsequently (1249-1269) bought back from his son William by the abbey: with the purchase money William bought Ganstead, in which the family had an interest for many years (151). At some time in the mid 13th century he was sued for dower in  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate of land in Frodingham as "Sir Peter" (152).

Peter's son William first occurs in the assize roll of 1251-1252 as a pledge (153) and Peter may have been dead by this time. William, son of Peter de la Twyer, was also a sheriff of Holderness, and Agnes, who had a dowry from Peter de la Twyer's lands and perhaps was his daughter married another sheriff, William de Walcote (154).

Peter witnessed two undated charters relating to Rimswell in company with (but preceding) Stephen Passemer and John son of Rannulf the sheriff, which would indicate he preceded Stephen Passemer in the chronology of sheriffs but came later than Rannulf (155). As sheriff he witnessed two charters relating to West Halsham which may be dated approximately to the 1220s or 1230s from the witnesses (156). In 1234 he appeared in court with the count, Peter de Mois the bailiff's subordinate and others, in connection with a disseisin in Halsham (157).

A later Peter de la Twyer, dead by 1304, held from the honour of Aumale not by service but only by money rents, and therefore his land was immune from wardship. Possibly this is a later echo of privileges granted by the counts to this family (158).

#### Stephen Passemer

Stephen Passemer, who occurs as sheriff once c.1221-1231 (159) was the son of William Passemer, steward to William de Forz II, count of Aumale. On this occasion father and son witnessed a charter together, with their respective offices. The Passemers were a Lincolnshire family which established itself in Hedon at the beginning of the 13th century (160). Stephen also witnessed other early 13th-century charters, often with his father or with Magister William Passemer, canon of York, including one of William de Forz II, in which he is not named as sheriff. Many of these attestations are to deeds about Hedon, or to deeds by Hedon men (161).

As Stephen occurs in the same witness list as Peter de la Twyer, sheriff, and John son of Rannulf the sheriff, it may be assumed he followed both Peter de la Twyer and Rannulf in office (162). He was probably succeeded c.1241 by William Anglicus.

Between 1235 and 1246 Stephen Passemer gave Meaux abbey a rent of 12s. from the tenants of 13 tenements in Hedon, to provide pittances each year for the convent on two feasts (163).

#### William Anglicus

William Anglicus was sheriff of Holderness in the time of Count William de Forz III (1241-1260), probably from c.1241-1251. His ancestry and place of origin are unknown, and indeed his name suggests a man without roots.

He first appears as attorney for Count William de Forz II in 1227, in two cases concerning the manor of Radstone, Northamptonshire, part of the Skipton fee, and a villein in Surrey (164). These appearances suggest that he may not have been a Yorkshireman, but possibly either a tenant of the count further south, or else a professional lawyer, employed by the count in the first instance for court work.

As bailiff of Skipton (a general term which is equivalent to constable) (165) he witnessed charters of the Skipton fee between 1231 and 1243, and before 1235 (166). His predecessor as constable died between 1231 and 1234 (167) and from at least 1234 William Anglicus was constable of Skipton. As constable he witnessed three charters relating to the Skipton fee. Before 1235 the rector of Gargrave granted him eight acres in Gargrave, a gift confirmed by the archbishop of York (168).

By 1246 William Anglicus was employed in Holderness, for in that year



he sent an attorney to the justices in eyre to explain that the lands and part of a mill he held in Preston and Tunstall were held by virtue of his office for the count of Aumale at the count's will, because the heir was under age and in custody (ipse tenet terram illam de baillio Willelmi de Fcrtibus comitis Albemarle ad voluntatem ipsius comitis qui terram illam habet in custodia sua) (169). He is probably the "William le Engleis" who with other Holderness men of the count hunted deer at Rise in 1245 in a private park. William Anglicus had given up the constableness of Skipton by (at latest) 1243 (171).

As sheriff of Holderness William Anglicus witnessed four charters between 1241 and 1251, being two charters of Count William de Forz III to Nunkeeling and St John, Croxton, the grant of a turbary to Nunkeeling and the grant of a villein from one man to another (172). In all these charters Henry le Moigne, steward to the count, also occurs.

Between 1241 and 1251 William Anglicus called "servienti meo" by the count (he is never called a knight) was enfeoffed with land in Bradley, parish of Kildwick (173). William's successor as sheriff, Henry de Cheshunt, occurs in 1251 and it may be assumed that William Anglicus had died or resigned by that time. Another William Anglicus ("Lengleys") occurs as eschaetor of Holderness between 1339 and 1349 (174).

#### Henry de Cheshunt

Henry de Cheshunt, like his predecessor William Anglicus, was constable of Skipton before becoming sheriff of Holderness. The family presumably came from Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, property part of the Richmond fee which had been leased to Count William de Mandeville from 1173 (175). As constable Henry de Cheshunt witnessed a charter of William de Forz III to Bolton priory between 1241 and 1249 (176). In 1246 he was accused of a disseisin in Skipsea and also (in company with others, probably some of the count's officers) of a disseisin in Gargrave (177). In the same year he was appointed attorney for the count of Aumale (178). He had been succeeded as constable of Skipton by 1250 (179) and occurs as sheriff of Holderness in 1251-1256 (180), and in 1256 (181). As sheriff of Holderness he witnessed two charters of William de Forz III to St Peter's York and to Thornton abbey (182). Without named office he witnessed an agreement between the count and Bolton priory, dated 1257, and another Bolton deed 1261-1267 (183), and also a charter of William de Forz III to Meaux abbey (184).

Another member of the family became constable of Skipton before 1277 (185) and a younger William occurs in Skipton and Holderness at the turn of the century (186).

Denholm Young (who states that Henry de Cheshunt had land in Holderness

worth over £60 a year)(187) believed that the sheriff in office under William de Forz III, probably Henry de Cheshunt, continued to function after the count's death for a year, until the new regime of the two countesses was established and their sheriff Rémy de Pocklington was appointed. Rémy's account begins at Michaelmas 1261 (188).

Henry de Cheshunt was dead by August 1267 when his widow at Skipton answered for cross-bows and spears which her husband and Sir William de la Twyer (executor of the count and sheriff 1264-1266) had received on William de Forz III's death (189).

Details of the sheriffs after Henry de Cheshunt are given by Denholm Young as:-

1261-1263 Renigius (Rémy) de Pocklington  
 1264-1266 William de la Twyer  
 1266-1267 Richard de Halstead  
 1267-1270 Simon de Preston  
 1270-1289 Robert Hildyard

(190)

c.1286 William de Walcote is named sheriff of Holderness (191).

Bailiffs or serjeants of the wapentake of Holderness before 1300

The names on this list, and on that of the list of coroners following it, are less certain than those of the stewards and sheriffs. The imprecision of the term baillivus and serviens makes it sometimes uncertain what a man's office was.

Gilbert de Foxton

This man occurs in 1208 as the serjeant of Holderness, amerced because he presented one man for another before the coroners (192). In the same case a Gilbert de Foxton of Swine occurs.

William Passemer: Stephen Passemer

William Passemer is described as "bailiff" early in the 13th century, and together with Stephen Passemer as "bailiffs of the count" between 1214 and 1231 (193). Both these men held office under the counts, William as steward and Stephen as sheriff, and it may be that these are the bailiwicks referred to (194).

Simon de Stutevill

Simon de Stutevill was a member of a powerful East Riding family, holding lands around Cottingham and elsewhere in Yorkshire (195). One of his relations, William, was sheriff of Yorkshire from 1229 to 1232.

Simon was a claimant to the inheritance of Anselm de Stutevill and accounted at Michaelmas 1199 for having his rights concerning land. He was unsuccessful in his claim, perhaps because he was illegitimate. He can presumably be identified with the Simon de Stutevill who witnessed a charter of Peter de Brus between 1196 and c.1212, and who appears as a pledge in the assize rolls for the clerk of Mappleton in Holderness in 1208 (196). In 1224 he was one of ten men who failed to produce five defendants, including the count of Aumale, to the justices, the first name on the list being William de Driffild, perhaps steward of the count at the time, and the second being Simon de Stutevill, perhaps indicating that he was the bailiff (197). In 1227 he witnessed a Holderness charter (198). In 1230 he was involved in a law suit concerning the marriage of his sister to Franco, brother of the parson of Rise (199), and was assisted by Simon de Preston, who later became bailiff of the wapentake.

In 1231 Simon de Stutevill the serjeant was amerced for not making

an attachment within Holderness. In the same assize roll (called bailiff) he answered for two deodands (objects that had caused death) (200).

### Simon de Preston

In the assize rolls for 1246 Simon de Preston, although never specifically named bailiff or serjeant performs the normal duties of the office. He was directed to attach men accused of disseisin on two occasions, and was fined for many transgressions and for contempt of court (201).

His first recorded appearance before the courts was in 1230 when he took an oath on behalf of Simon de Stutevill (202). Between 1241 and 1251 he witnessed a charter of the count of Aumale as "bailiff of Holderness" (203), and in 1243-1244 he acted as a pledge for a Holderness man (204). He is probably the Simon son of Henry de Preston who gave Meaux abbey land at Arram between 1249 and 1269 (205). He occurs in the assize roll of 1251 in connection with land at Preston (206) and in 1251-1252 he was amerced by the justices for transgression (207). One of the ancient pleas of the crown in 1257 was an appeal against Simon de Preston made in the county court for wounding and robbery, the sort of offence often attributed to a bailiff (208). He was a witness to a Holderness charter in 1258 (209) and was sheriff of Holderness c.1267-1270 in the time of the countesses (210). In 1260, at the death of Count William de Forz III, he was one of the men who made the extent of the count's lands in Holderness (211).

### Robert de Steeton

His family came from Steeton in Craven, but in the 12th and 13th century the name is habitually written Styveton or Stiveton. He married Agnes the daughter of Elias de Rilston, a tenant of the Aumales in the Skipton fee, and held land in Gargrave of the Aumales. It appears from a charter relating to Gargrave that he was also called Robert de Warter (212), and that he was a knight (213). In 1257 Robert de Steeton was called chief bailiff of Holderness (214), a post which he retained until 1265 (215). Between 1263 and 1266 he paid various sums for the "farm of the serjeanty of Holderness", being £5 5s., £8, £10 and (for half a year) £5 (216). In 1262-1263 he accounted to the sheriff of Holderness for the receipts of Ravenser Odd, as the bailiff of Odd (217).

In March 1266 Thomas de Lelley (formerly constable of Skipton) took the serjeanty or bailiwick of Holderness at farm for £12 paid quarterly. He accounted for the Holderness serjeanty until 1268 (218) when the wapentake was confiscated. In 1273 Peter de Meaux occurs as bailiff (219). By 1275



the wapentake had been "for some years" in the hands of William de Blaungy, who also controlled Paull ferry, and who was sent to prison for returning the names of dead men in writs connected with the holding of an inquest (220). At the end of 1291 the bailiwick was granted to Stephen de Paull for life after an inquisition ad quod damnum (221), as a royal serjeanty, paying to the chief bailiffs of Burstwick £10 yearly.

## Coroners of Holderness

### William the clerk

Described as a bailiff in the 1231 assize rolls, William the clerk was accused of refusing to allow burial of a man killed accidentally in the vill of Withernwick unless he was paid. Authorising burials of this kind (without payment) was an integral part of the coroner's duties, and William was probably Holderness coroner at this time (222). The serjeant in 1231 was Simon de Stutevill.

### Bernard de Areyns

In 1251 Bernard de Areyns was fined by the eyre for not producing a man he had attached, and also for transgressions (223). In 1257 he was again in difficulties, for he should have brought a man to the justices: it was known through the coroner's roll that Bernard de Areyns promised to bring him to the next county court, and he did not. Bernard was coroner and had gone bail for him (manucepit ipsum) (224). At the same eyre he was accused of fining a man who did not prevent an escape from Hedon jail (225).

Bernard de Areyns was the third son of William de Areyns, lord of Little Hatfield in Holderness, who also held land in nearby Seaton. Bernard's two elder brothers Arnald and Thomas died without children, and the inheritance came to him; he confirmed lands to Meaux abbey between 1235 and 1249 and must have been in possession of the inheritance not later than 1249 (226) and not before 1224 when his eldest brother Arnold was in possession (227). Bernard held three carucates in Little Hatfield c.1260 and also in 1273-1275 (228) but had been succeeded by his son Thomas II by 1285 (229).

At Christmas 1264 Bernard de Areyns was one of four sureties in an agreement made over a wardship: the four men agreed to be distrained if part of the bargain was not kept, another part of the bargain being a payment of 40s. to the countess of Aumale (230). By October 1268 Bernard had been appointed together with Thomas de Lelley to keep the wapentakes and bailiwicks of the land of Holderness, and to safeguard the revenues until the king decided in the quarrel between the countesses (231). He continued to hold office until 1274 (232).

The names of later coroners have not been collected. No coroners' rolls for Holderness have been found before the mid 14th century (233). The office of private coroner of Holderness lasted until the 19th century (234).

The chamberlains of the counts of Aumale 1086-1260

Geoffrey and Stephen

They occur together as chamberlains in the time of Count Stephen, as witnesses to a charter issued between 1115 and 1130 (235).

William

William the chamberlain witnesses ten charters of the counts of Aumale with the extreme dates of 1147-1182. Most of the charters come from the 1160s and 1170s, and on two occasions William witnessed jointly with Walter the chamberlain, who was in office under William de Mandeville (1179-1189) (236). He also occurs in the pipe rolls on two occasions, in 1165-1166 and 1175-1176, paying sums of 1 mark for an unspecified reason and 40s. for a forest amercement, being named as William the chamberlain of the count of Aumale (237).

Terry

Terry (usually Latinised as Terricus but once written Teri) the chamberlain witnesses four charters of William le Gros, between c.1150 and c.1160, including two charters with Benedict the chamberlain and one with Adam the chamberlain (238).

Benedict

Benedict the chamberlain witnesses six charters of William le Gros, from c.1150 to c.1179, including one at Hornsea and one at Aumale, and he also witnesses one charter of the abbot of Meaux between 1150 and 1160 (239). He was a member of the Nuthill family, and one of the chamberlainships of Aumale became hereditary in his family. He had at least two sons, Robert and Hugh (240) and may have been the father of the brothers Adam and John de Nuthill (241). He witnessed charters together with Adam the chamberlain (who may have been Adam de Nuthill) and with Terry the chamberlain (242). Before 1190 he gave Thornton abbey 3 bovates and a toft in Preston (243).

Adam

Adam the chamberlain witnessed two charters of the counts of Aumale, c.1160 and 1170-1175, one of the treasurer of York minster 1153-1162 and one of the abbot of Meaux between 1150 and 1160 (244). He may have been the Adam de Nuthill, brother of John (and possibly son of Benedict) in whose family one of the chamberlainships became hereditary. He witnessed once with Terry the chamberlain and once with Benedict. Before 1190 he gave Thornton abbey three houses in Hedon (245).

Walter

Walter the chamberlain witnessed two charters of William le Gros, one charter being between 1160 and 1170, in company with William the chamberlain. He was enfeoffed by William de Mandeville, count of Aumale, with land in Paull Holme between 1179 and 1189 (246). A Walter the chamberlain occurs in charters of Cecily countess of Aumale and of William le Gros to St Bees priory, Cumberland (247).

Hugh son of Benedict de Nuthill

Hugh son of Benedict and his heirs were granted by the count of Aumale and by Countess Hawisa all the fee of the chamberlainship (248). Which count of Aumale made the grant is unfortunately not clear. Hugh witnessed the grant of Count William de Mandeville to another chamberlain, Walter, between 1179 and 1189 (249) and made an arrangement with the abbey of Aumale about his chapel of Nuthill c.1180-1221 (250). Hugh the chamberlain is recorded in the Meaux chronicle as a holder of land in Cranswick, just outside Holderness, land which came to Meaux abbey between 1235 and 1249 (251).

Herbert

Herbert the chamberlain witnessed one charter of William de Forz I to Fountains abbey, between 1190 and 1195. The names of the other witnesses suggest that Herbert was chamberlain to the count, rather than to the abbey or another lord (252).

Gregory

Gregory the chamberlain was attorned by both Countess Hawisa and Count Baldwin de Béthune to act in 1212 against William de Coleville and Maud Belet his wife (tenants in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire) (253). Nothing else is known of him.

Robert

In 1235 Robert the chamberlain was attorned by William de Forz II to appear in a case re land in Rutland (254). He might be the same man as the R. de Camera who held 2 bovates in Paull Holme c.1260 (255).



John de Nuthill

John de Nuthill was the successor to Hugh son of Benedict in that chamberlainship which was held by his family. He witnessed seven charters of Count William de Forz III (256). His mother's name was Alice: and before 1241 Alice gave Adam de Nuthill, John's brother and her son, land in Nuthill for the expenses of his pilgrimage. Adam pledged the land to his brother John, who is found in possession of Nuthill by 1241 (257). John de Nuthill held two carucates in Nuthill from at least 1241 until his death in 1275, doing suit at the wapentake and foreign service (258), and he also held some bovates in Preston (259). In the 1260s he often occurs in the Holderness account rolls, receiving large sums of money for the countess (260). In 1271 John leased Nuthill to the Countess Isabella for life, and it reverted to his heirs in 1275. His two daughters entered a convent at Countess Isabella's expense in the year of their father's death (261). John was succeeded by his son Peter.

Gerard de St John

Gerard de St John is sometimes called Gerard de Barmston. He was chamberlain to William de Forz III, count of Aumale, and witnessed two charters of the count (262). He was granted two carucates and a capital messuage in Barmston in the north of Holderness by the count (263). After he ceased to be chamberlain, Gerard de St John granted most of this land away in exchange for a corrody for himself and his daughters, before 1273-1275 when he is recorded as having two "lands" which probably represented the small amount of the two carucates he had kept (264).

The terms of the corrody are interesting. Gerard granted Adam the servant of the rector of Barmston and Agnes his wife (who was possibly Gerard's daughter) all the land he had had from the count, whose chamberlain he had been, with the capital messuage, saving only two bovates and the inheritance of his daughters. Adam and Agnes covenanted to maintain Gerard and his daughters for his life in food and drink, to give him a robe worth at least 12s., and cloth, linen and footwear for him and his daughters, and a tunic, mantle and shirts when possible (265).

John de Berchaut

John de Berchaut (or Berkhou) was chamberlain to William de Forz III. He gave evidence at the proof of age of the Countess Aveline that he remembered clearly when the countess was born at Burstwick in 1258 as he

was then the count's chamberlain (266). He was described as former chamberlain in 1268 in a plea of debt in the exchequer of the Jews, when it was returned by the sheriff of Yorkshire that he had no goods by which he could be distrained (267). He was presumably a member of the family that held lands at Out Newton in Holderness, and at Burton Fleming near Bridlington (268).

#### Peter de Nuthill

Peter de Nuthill, son of John, inherited his father's lands and the chamberlainship in 1275 (269). In 1279-1280 he quitclaimed the chamberlainship to the king (who now held  $\frac{2}{3}$  of Holderness because the heiress had died, leaving only the dower lands still held by the Aumales) for the sum of 20 marks, and it is not thereafter found (270).

The office of chamberlain did not survive the death of the last count for long. Robert Hildyard was constable of Skipton in 1267, and became sheriff of Holderness in 1270. Between 1267 and 1270 he was chamberlain or wardrober to Countess Isabella (271). He was succeeded by Robert Ragolf; after him this chamberlainship is not found again (272). In 1274 on the death of the heiress Aveline, the greater part of Holderness came to the Crown, and it is about this time that Robert Ragolf's office disappears, soon to be followed by the quitclaim of the Nuthill chamberlainship.

The sheriff's account roll

The sheriff's account from 1261 to 1264 (PRO Min. Acc. 1078/7) is the earliest of the Holderness account rolls and the earliest private sheriff's account in England, possibly the only 13th-century roll of its kind.

It begins at Michaelmas 1261 and calls that year "anno primo comitisse" suggesting an interregnum between the death of the last count (May 1260) and the accession, if such a word may be used, of the dowager countess.

The sheriff of most of the roll was Remigius de Pocklington: the last six lines relate to the account of William de la Twyer, sheriff from Michaelmas 1264. The same hand has written the roll throughout. It is here given in translation, preserving as far as possible the format of the original entries. The account is on one membrane.

The clerks did not always add up the items correctly: for instance, the first section totals £516 15s. 2½d. not £516 15s. 4½d. as in the text.

Where the translation is doubtful, the reading of the Latin word is given in square brackets.

Account of Remigius de Pocklington sheriff of Holderness, in the 45th year of the reign of King Henry son of King John, and the 1st year of the countess, from the 'eve of Michaelmas for a whole year.

The same accounts for £136 19s. 10½d. received from William the reeve of Burstwick by two tallies. And for £113 6s. 8d. from Alan the stockman for 20 sacks of wool. And for £32 18s. 9d. from Thomas the reeve of Pocklington by one tally. And for £11 16s. 8d. from the wapentake. And for £100 from Thomas the constable of Cockermouth by three tallies. And for £20 from the debt [?deoniso] of the vill of Borley without tally. And for £14 from Adam the reeve of Radstone by the hand of Sir Thomas Makrel without tally. And for £20 from Sir Geoffrey de Fanencurt without tally. And for £66 13s. 3d. from Sir Gerard Lagrue for a loan.

Sum of total receipts £516 15s. 4½d.

Exp- Allowed for the expenses of the same spent in going about the  
enses dower of the countess and elsewhere about the business of the countess £15 11s. 0d. For two pairs of robes and two tabards for himself per year 69s. For a saddle for his use 8s. For the robes of his three servants 20s. For their shoes 6s.

Total £20 14s. 0d.

Customary robes Allowed for the robe of Ranulf the clerk 13s. 4d. For the robe of Henry bailiff of Easington 13s. 4d. For the robe of Hugh the carpenter 13s. 4d. For the robe of William reeve of Burstwick 13s. 4d. For the robe of the keeper of the rabbit warren 6s. 8d. For the robe of the keeper of Withernsea mere 6s. 8d. For the robe of the keeper of the Great Park 6s. 8d. For the robe of the keeper of Lambwath 6s. 8d. For the robe of Henry le Carter bailiff of Wawne 6s. 8d. For the robe of Adam keeper of the foals 6s. 8d.

Total £4 13s. 4d.

Messengers & fees Allowed for different messengers going on the countess's business 16s. For the fee of Hugh the carpenter at the will of the countess 20s.

Total 36s.

Wine bought Allowed for five tuns of wine bought, with the carriage, £13 10s. 5d.

Total £13 10s. 5d.

Payments Allowed for payments made to the lady countess for many small things, £80 0s. 8d. by letters patent of the countess. And to William the reeve of Burstwick £6 9s. 11d.

Total £86 10s. 7d.

Allowed for payment to Richard de Bedford for two parts of Holderness and for the marriage of the heirs of the count of Aumale, £66 13s. 4d. And to Luke de Lukes for the same £166 13s. 4d. And to Bartholomew de Castello for the same £26 13s. 4d. And to the same for the same from the pence of Radstone £14. And to the same £16 13s. 4d. by the hand of Grimbald for the same. And to Sir John le Breton for the same £20. And to John de Noranton for the same £50.

Total £360 13s. 4d.

Sum total of all payments and expenses  
£487 17s. 8d. And so he owes £28 17s. 7½d.



Account of the same Remigius from the feast of Michaelmas in the 46th year, the second year of the countess, for a whole year.

Arrears      The same accounts for £28 17s. 7½d. for the arrears beyond his account.

£28 17s. 7½d.

Foreign receipts      The same accounts for £7 0s. 18½d. from the mayor of le Hod. And for 25s. from the tanners of le Hod. And for £4 10s. from Robert de Steeton. bailiff of le Hod. And for £23 15s. from the reeve of Kilnsea. And for £23 13s. from the reeve of Easington. And for £15 9s. 9½d. from the reeve of Skeffling. And for £24 0s. 1¼d. from the reeve of Withernsea. And for £21 11s. 5d. from the reeve of Burton. And for £21 11s. from the reeve of Keyingham. And for £23 2s. 9½d. from the reeve of Burstwick. And for £43 3s. from the receiver of Preston. And from the same 16s. for the first year. And for £4 8s. 9d. from the reeve of Lelley. And for £28 15s. 8d. from the reeve of Cleeton. And for £41 16s. 6d. from the bailiff of Hedon. And for 45s. 3d. for the farm of the ferry. And for 5s. from the nets. And for £16 from Robert de Steeton. And for 113s. 4d. from Alan the stockman. And for £170 from the same for 30 sacks of wool. And for 15s. for castle ward of Searby. And for £39 14s. 6d. from the aid of Holderness. And for £21 2s. for wreck of a ship broken at Hornsea. And for £22 from the wapentake. And for £111 6s. 8d. from Thomas the constable of Cockermouth. And for £48 16s. 3d. from the reeve of Pocklington.

Total £722 18s. 7½d.

Sum total of receipts with arrears £751 16s. 6d

Expenses      Allowed for the expenses of the same going to London and elsewhere to hasten the business of the lady countess £8 7s. 2d. For robes and tabards for his use for the year 69s. For one saddle for his use 8s. For robes and shoes for the use of his three servants 26s. For the expenses of William de la Twyer taking money to London 56s. 11d.

Total £16 7s. 1d.

Allowances for customary robes Allowed for the robe of Ranulf the clerk 13s. 4d. For the robe of Henry bailiff of Easington 13s. 4d. For the robe of Hugh the carpenter 13s. 4d. For the robe of William the reeve of Burstwick 13s. 4d. For the robe of the keeper of the rabbit warren 6s. 8d. For the robe of the keeper of Withernsea mere 6s. 8d. For the robe of the keeper of the Great Park 6s. 8d. For the robe of the keeper of Lambwath 6s. 8d. For the robe of Henry le Carter bailiff of Wawne 6s. 8d. For the robe of Adam keeper of the foals 6s. 8d.

Total £9.

Expenses for the galley The same accounts for boards, timber, nails and other things bought to repair the galley, with the wages of the carpenters ... (illeg.) repairing her 56s. 8d.

Total 56s. 8d.

Messengers & the fee of Hugh the carpenter Allowed for different messengers sent on the countess's business, 18s. For the fee of Hugh the carpenter annually at the will of the countess 20s.

Total 38s.

Expenses of the house Allowed for 30 ells of canvas bought for the use of the pantry 6s.

Total 6s.

Wine bought Allowed for nine tuns of wine bought with the carriage £24 4s. 11½d.

Total £24 4s. 11½d.

Allowances & payments for the countess Allowed for shoes bought for the use of the countess, that is four pairs of slippers ~~£2s. 4d.~~ 2s. For two striped fur dresses ~~£7s. 6d.~~ 7s. For shoes bought for the use of Aveline her daughter 7s. For shoes for the nurse of the same 2s. For payment to the countess by the hand of King 2s. To Matilda de Chilham 5d. To John de Nuthill 2s. 6d.

Total 15s. 11d.

Allowances & payments Allowed for 120 acres of meadow and pasture for a thousand sheep bought from Sir Saer de Sutton £66 13s. 4d. For payment to Henry le Carter bailiff of Wawne 3s. To William the reeve of Burstwick £58 10s. 1d. To Alan the stockman 106s 8d. by one tally. To Peter the reeve of Little Humber £4 12s. To Walter the reeve of Keyingham 33s. 4d. To Thomas Makrel by one tally £54.

Total £190 17s. 5d.

Payments Allowed for payment to Sir Geoffrey de Fanecurt £368 13s. 4d. that  
for two Geoffrey paid the merchant [s] for the marriage of the heir and  
parts of Holderness for two parts of Holderness. To Luke de Lukes £204 10s. 8d. of  
& marriage which £170 is from wool sold him. i.e. from thirty sacks of wool.  
of the heir To John de Norhanton £50. To Bartholomew de Castello £35 13s. 4d.  
of Aumale To Aldebrand the merchant £13 6s. 8d.

Total £672 4s.

Sum total of payments and expenses

£918 10s. 0½d.

And owed by him is £166 13s. 9½d.

Burton for two parts, the first, second and third year. And the account of  
Remigius de Pocklington sheriff of Holderness for the first and second year.  
Account of Remigius de Pocklington sheriff paid before the aforesaid from  
the eve of Michaelmas in the 47th year for one complete year.

Receipts The same accounts for £7 10s. from the mayor of Le Hod. And for  
£23 10s. from the reeve of Kilnsea. And for £17 18s. from the  
reeve of Easington. And for £20 7s. 4d. from the reeve of  
Skeffling. And for £26 4s. 7d. from the reeve of Withernsea.  
And for £15 19s. 10d. from the reeve of Burton. And for £19  
from the reeve of Keyingham. And for £45 0s. 8d. from the  
receiver of Preston. And for 117s. 10d. from the reeve of Lelley.  
And for £7 17s. 6d. from John bailiff of Hedon. And for 60s. from  
Robert de Wynnegat by one tally. And for [illeg.] from the same  
without tally. And for £20 4s. 4d. from the reeve of Cleeton. And  
for £4 for the farm of Wawne. And for 66s. 8d. for corn sold  
there. And 105s. from Robert de Steeton for the serjeanty of  
Holderness...and...from Alan the stockman by one tally. And  
for £204 from thirty-six sacks of wool sold. And for 16s. from  
castle ward of Searby. And for £13 13s. 8d. from the perquisites  
of the wapentake of Holderness. And...from William the reeve of  
Burstwick. And for £15 2s. 10d. from the reeve of Pocklington. And  
for £73 6s. 8d. from Thomas the constable of Cockermouth by two  
tallies. And £40 from the executors of the count...father of the  
countess. And for £133 6s. 8d. from the money of John Mansel by  
the hand of William de la Twyer sheriff. And for £66 13s. 4d.  
for land that Remigius de Pocklington had of the gift of the countess  
of Aumale which the countess conceded him for £100 of which 50 marks  
are pardoned to Remigius by the countess. And for £20 from William  
de la Twyer...

Sum total of receipts £803 3s. 11d.

Surplus Allowed for in surplus to the sheriff from the preceding year £166 13s. 9½d.

Total £166 13s. 9½d.

His expenses Allowed for the expenses of the same going about the countess's business £8 19s. 6d. For one tabard for his use in winter 8s. For one saddle for his use 8s. For robes and shoes for his three servants 26s. For one rouncey [type of horse] bought for his use 110s.

Total £16 11s. 6d.

Keeper of Lambwath bridge Allowed for seasoned [?sicandis] timber for Lambwath bridge 3s.  
Total 3s.

Allowances for customary robes Allowed for the robe of Ranulf the clerk 13s. 4d. For the robe of the reeve of Burstwick 13s. 4d. For the robes of John Bere, Alan Fisher and ...Fulk at the Mar 20s. For the robes of...servants of ...5s. For one fur bought for the use of Robert de Steeton 3s. 6d.  
Total 55s...

Messengers & the fee of Hugh the carpenter Allowed for different messengers sent on the countess's business 13s. For the fee of Hugh the carpenter by the year at the will of the countess 20s.

Total 33s.

[Wine] ...for...bought 12s. 6d. For vinegar bought 9s. 4d. For eight quarters beer [or barley] bought 20s.  
Total...

[This completes the front of the roll. Continued on the dorse]

Chamber Allowed for 400 lbs of wax bought £10 11s. 8d. For 40 ells of blue cloth bought for Christmas for robes 68s. 4d. For 14 ells of blue cloth bought for robes...26s. 2d. For 6 ells of russet cloth bought for the use of Ralf Husser and Ingelard 8s. For robes...for Christmas 5s. For the falconer for his service 10s. For the expenses of a boy leading the foals to graze at Asschiesby 5s. For payment to a boy making the foals walk 3s. For shoes for the use of the countess 3s. For shoes and stockings for the use of her sons 3s. 4d.

Total £16 19s. 6d.



Wine bought Allowed for 23 tuns of wine bought £59. 11s. For carriage of the same by the hand of Remigius 23s. 3d.

Total £60 14s. 3d.

Payments Allowed in payment to the lady countess for many small things read before her and agreed by her £76 9s. 7½d. Allowed the same after Michaelmas in the fourth year for many small things in their turn read before her £10 0s. 6d. To Sir Geoffrey de Fanencurt £66 13s. 4d. To Sir Thomas Makrel by two tallies £70 13s. 4d. To Robert Makrel £40. To the same for his expenses going to Southampton 13s. 4d. To Humfrey de Donesterr £71 10s. To Luke de Lick for many debts by the hand of Sir Geoffrey £20 4. To William the reeve of Burstwick £87 12s. 8d. To Magister Adam Cissori for mending <sup>winter cloaks</sup> ~~mail~~ helmets / ?capas yemelles? for the use of the knights at Michaelmas in the third year £14 13s. To the same for mending in the same year at the feast of St Ivo 33s. 4d. To Alan the stockman £17 by one tally. To William the fisher 27s. for mending the nets. To John de Urciato 5s.

Total £607 12s. 1½d.

Sum of total expenses with payments £920 4s. 2d

And £117 0s. 3d. is owed by him.

Debts of Memorandum that the countess of Aumale undertook by her letters to  
Remigius pay for Remigius de Pocklington the underwritten debts: i.e. to  
de  
Pocklington the vicar of Preston £20 0s. 14d. for corn bought from him. To the executors of the will of Sir Baldwin earl of the Isle for the stock of Harewood £19 4s. To William the reeve of Burstwick for the forinsec farm 105s. and for the castle ward of Holderness 9½d. To Saier de Gargrave £9 6s. Also for the customary robes from the first year to William the reeve of Burstwick 1 mark. To the keeper of Withernsea mere, to the keeper of the Great Park, to the keeper of Lambwath, to Henry le Carter bailiff of Wawne, to Adam keeper of the foals 33s. 4d., i.e. to each of them ½ mark. Also for the same for the second year to William the reeve of Burstwick 1 mark. Also to 4 warreners, to 1 keeper of the warren, to 2 keepers of Lambwath mere, to 1 keeper of Withernsea mere, to Henry le Carter bailiff of Wawne, to Fulk the gardener, to Adam the keeper of the foals, to 1 park keeper of the Great Park and to 1 keeper of the wood of Tottleys 6½ marks. In the third year to William the reeve of Burstwick 1 mark, to Fulk the gardener ½ mark,

to Humfrey de Dunstorr £4.

Total of the aforesaid memorandum

£66 3s. 9½d. And thus is owed by

the same Remigius £50 16s. 5½d clear

William de la Twyer sheriff renders his account for 33s.3d.  
received from John Dest bailiff of Hedon. And for £50 from  
Sir Thomas de Colcester.

Total £51 13s. 4d.

Allowed in his expenses and of Sir Saer de Sutton and Sir Adam  
de St Martin and others going about the business of the lady  
countess of Knaresborough and coming back 65s. 11d. In expenses  
of the same keeping Holderness by order of the countess on  
account of the doubt of war 24s. For expenses of the messengers  
of the countess 18s. 10d.

Total 108s. 9d.

Allowed in payments made for many small things by order of the  
countess £12 12s. And to Sir Thomas Makrel at Knaresborough  
£30. And to the lady in waiting [?domicilla] Yalm there 66s. 8d.  
And to William the reeve of Burstwick for the expenses of the  
falconers £14 13s. 4d.

Total £60 12s.

Sum total of payments and expenses £66 0s. 9d.

And it is owed to the same £14 7s. 5d.

Parish priests of Holderness before c.1300

## ALDBROUGH

c.1200	Godfrey de Lucy	<u>Pontissara's Reg.</u> p.740
1252	Sir Aleric, vicar	<u>Gray's Reg.</u> p.268
?	Reginald, vicar	BL Add. MS 26736, f.79d

## ARNOLD

1270	William de Beverley presented	<u>Giffard's Reg.</u> p.55
1286	John de Scalleby, rector	<u>Romeyn's Reg.</u> I, p.240

## ATWICK

1138-1140	Ellis occurs	<u>EYC</u> III No.1330
1228	Robert Testard	<u>Brid. Charty</u> p.312
1295	William de Acun instituted	<u>Romeyn's Reg.</u> I, pp.156,240

## BARMSTON

temp. Henry II	Alexander	PRO Assize R. 1045 m.52d
1241-1260	Nicholas Hog occurs	Bodleian Rawl. B 455 f.184; <u>Cal.Ch.R.</u> II, p.440; <u>Guisboro' Charty</u> p.208
c.1260?	<u>Mag.</u> Thomas de Barneby	<u>ERAST</u> XVIII, p.16
1286-1287	<u>Mag.</u> Thomas de Barnesby dead	<u>Romeyn's Reg.</u> II, p.160

## BEEFORD

1235-1249	Peter de Neville occurs	<u>CM</u> II, p.50
1249	William de Calverley instit.	<u>Gray's Reg.</u> p.106
mid 13 cent.	Sir Wm. de Calverley	Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.247
?	William Testard, rector	<u>Pontefract Charty</u> p.133
1280,1282,1286	J. de Blebire	<u>Wickwane's Reg.</u> pp.97,115; <u>Romeyn's Reg.</u> I, p.188
1291-1292	Roger de Asseby	<u>Romeyn's Reg.</u> I, pp.218,222
1292	Henry de Navenby	<u>Romeyn's Reg.</u> I, p.222

## BRANDESBURTON

early 13 cent.	Walter de Chaluns	BL Add. MS 26736, f.80d
1251	<u>Mag.</u> Peter de Glovernia	<u>Cal. Papal Letters</u> I, p.273
1293	Robert de Nottingham	<u>Romeyn's Reg.</u> II, p.71
1310/11	Sir Robert de Nottingham, sacrist of Beverley & rector	<u>Beverley Chapter Act Book</u> I, p.285

## BURSTALL OR SKEFFLING

1281 Thomas de Plesinghowe,  
vicar, instituted

Wickwane's Reg. p.109

"BURTON" (probably in Holderness)

c.1172-1199 William parson occurs

HUL, DDWB Box 3

c.1214-1220 Mag. W<sup>o</sup> parson occurs

Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.236d

## BURTON PIDSEA

c.1228 William de Poitou, rector

YM Fasti I, p.58

1275 Henry the priest

Giffard's Reg. p.281

## CATWICK

c.1160-1184 William the priest occurs Pontefract Charty No.539

c.1200? William the priest occurs BL Otho C viii, f.73

c.1205-1230 Eustace de Fauconberg,  
rector

Pontefract Charty No.444

1290/1 Ralph rector

Romeyn's Reg. I, p.216

## EASINGTON

1225 Robert a claimant as parson  
(disputed)

CRR XII, No.2283

1226, 1227 William de Eboraco

CRR XII, No.2283; Yorks. Fines  
1218-1231, p.168

1230 William de Eboraco instituted

Gray's Reg. p.33

1270 Roger Marmium

Giffard's Reg. p.55

1275 Stephen de Audener

Giffard's Reg. p.281

## GARTON

c.1260-1270 Hugh, vicar and dean of  
Holderness occurs

Cal. of Charters in Bodleian, p.609

## GOXHILL

early 13 cent. John, rector

BL Lansdowne MS 424, f.115d

c.1250 (Yorks?) Mag. Adam de Waravill

HUL, DDWB Box 3

1264 (Lincs?) W. chaplain of parish

Brid. Charty p.347

(the two last named may be priests of either the Goxhill in Holderness or the Goxhill in Lincolnshire)



## HALSHAM

- ante 1207 Hugh the chaplain CRR V, p.87  
 1240 Mag. Robert de Barton HUL, DDCC/43/6  
 1259 Mag. Adam de Fausam BL Lansdowne MS 424, f.119

## HILSTON

- 1267 Simon de Meaux instit. Giffard's Reg. pp.50,109  
 1273 John Talun presented Giffard's Reg. p.289

## HORNSEA

- 13th cent. Simon de Cast~~e~~i Karroc' Bodleian Rawl. MS B 455 f.345d  
 1228 Mag. Laurence de Lincoln  
           instituted Gray's Reg. p.21  
 c.July 1231 Mag. L. de Lincoln leaves Gray's Reg. p.46  
 1248 Gilbert de Kirketon instit. Gray's Reg. p.103  
 1249 Mag. Richard de Hinton instit. Gray's Reg. p.107  
 1291 Robert de Reygate Romeyn's Reg. I, p.219  
 1291 Mag. Robert de Lascy Romeyn's Reg. I, p.220

## HUMBLETON

- c.1234-1258 Henry de Preston occurs BL Add. MS 26736, f.64d

## KEYINGHAM

- 13th cent. Adam, parson of K. and  
           dean of Holderness Brid. Charty, p.338  
 1269 Geoffrey Giffard's Reg. p.2  
 1279 John de Hengham instit. Wickwane's Reg. p.31  
 1281 Sir Hugh de Cave instit. Wickwane's Reg. p.113  
 1298 William de Eston Romeyn's Reg. II, p.225

## KILNSEA

- 13th cent. Stephen de Hedon BL Lansdowne MS 424, f.91d  
 1274 Robert Aunger presented Giffard's Reg. p.287  
 1298 Stephen Holym instit. Romeyn's Reg. II, p.208

## LEVEN

- 13th cent. William, rector BL Lansdowne MS 424, ff.118d,120



## ROOS

- 1190-1200 William, rector, occurs EYC X, No. 100  
 13 cent. Walter, rector, occurs BL Lansd. MS 424, f.120d  
 1232 Roger de Hedon instit. Gray's Reg. p.54  
 1245 Mag. Adam Cornub' instit. Gray's Reg. p.95  
 1275 John called Talun Giffard's Reg. p.281

## ROUTH

- ante 1220 Thomas, rector (later left) CM I, p.363  
 1273 Simon de Dringhoe admitted Giffard's Reg. p.289

## SIGGLESTHORNE

- 13 cent. Hugh de Meaux, rector BL Lansd. MS 424, f.118d  
 1273/4 Mag. Ralph de Ivinghou,  
           rector BL Lansd. MS 424, f.129d  
 1294 William de Patrington,  
           rector Romeyn's Reg. I, p.233

## SKECKLING CUM BURSTWICK

- 1154-1180 Peter, parson occurs EYC III, No.1397

## SKIPSEA

- 1226 Walter the deacon, vicar,  
       instit. John, parson, at  
       same time Gray's Reg. p.8  
 1228 Mag. William de Wisbeach coll. Gray's Reg. p.23  
 13 cent. Ivo, rector Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.247  
 1241-1260 Ivo, rector occurs Bodleian Rawl. MS B 455, f.184  
 1269 Robert and William de Farendon  
       presented, Walter was the  
       last presented vicar before Giffard's Reg. p.53  
 1288 Sir Richard de Ofram, vicar Romeyn's Reg. I, p.206

## SPROATLEY

- 13 cent. Richard, rector, occurs Brid. Charty p.230  
 13 cent. Robert, priest, occurs Brid. Charty pp.347,440  
 1232 William de Taney instit. Gray's Reg. p.55  
 1274 Radulf de Rithre, rector Giffard's Reg. p.198  
 1299 William, rector Romeyn's Reg. II, p.226

## SUTTON (CHAPEL)

- 1197-1210 William de Sutton, rector,  
occurs CM I, p.297
- 1270 Matthew de Bridlington and  
Mag. Thomas de Grimston pres. Giffard's Reg. pp 54-5
- 1280 Robert, rector Wickwane's Reg. p.101

## TUNSTALL

- c.1200-1230 Mag. Walter, parson, occurs EYC III, No.1317

## WAWNE

- 1160-1182 John the priest occurs Frost, Hull, p.9
- c.1160 Thomas the parson Frost, Hull, p.9
- c.1170-1180 Thomas, rector, occurs York, D. & C., Hopkinson MSS
- 1197-1210 Roger Godechep,  $\frac{1}{2}$  church,  
occurs CM I, p.297
- 1197-1210 Peter Pictavensis, parson  
of  $\frac{1}{2}$  and later whole  
church, occurs CM I, p.297
- 1244 Richard de Overton, vicar,  
presented YM Fasti I, p.56

## WELWICK

- 1217 Mag. Geoffrey de Norwich,  
rector BL Lansd. Ch. 546
- 1225/6 Mag. Geoffrey de Norwich Cal. Papal Letters I, p.109
- c.1270 John de Pontayse Giffard's Reg. p.246
- 1298 Sir John de Eyland Romeyn's Reg. II, p.222

## WINESTEAD

- 1238 Sir Nicholas Malett Gray's Reg. p.80; Poulson, Holderness I,  
p.475
- 1291 Richard de Waldegrave Romeyn's Reg. I, p.219

## WITHERNSEA

- 1291 William de la Twyer pres. Romeyn's Reg. I, p.219

## WITHERNWICK

- c.1210-c.1220 John de Meaux, parson  
occurs BL Lansd. MS 424, ff.114d, 115, 117, 117d,  
129d; BL Harl. Ch. 49 I 17; BL Add.  
MS 5723



### The dykes of Holderness

Ashdyke ran from the millpond in Meaux abbey precinct (which was filled by Monkdyke) to the Hull, where a primitive trap, still called locally a clow or clough, was fitted to prevent the tidal waters of the Hull entering the dyke. The monks tried to make Ashdyke power another water-mill at its junction with the Hull, which was in Stone Carr, but this was not successful, and the dyke, being east-west across the lie of the land, caused floods in the adjoining pastures (CM II, pp.81,82,85). Further clows did not solve the problem, and the Ashdyke became less and less effective. It was abandoned in 1675 (J. Sheppard, The Draining of Hull Valley, p.10) but part of its course can still be traced on the Ordnance Survey maps, as Ash Dyke Bank. In 1367 a jury presented that the dyke should be repaired by the abbey of Meaux, and that where the dyke came to the bank of the Hull there was a water-mill, in which there were three large clows, and through the middle clow the keeper of the mill often let in much water from the Hull, to the detriment of the nearby land: Poulson, Holderness I, p.130.

Monkdyke was made between 1210 and 1220 by agreement with many freeholders and the nuns of Swine. It ran from the Lambwath, probably between Arnold and Benningholme, and into the abbey precincts, where it (together with another water source) worked the abbey mill, and thereafter the water fell into the Hull via Ashdyke (CM II, p.82). The monks met opposition as soon as the new dyke was made, because it took away the water which formerly ran through the Swine grange at Fairholme. So the dykes had to be redesigned, in order that the water could be shared with Swine, and Meaux gave up rights in the dyke from Fairholme to Benningholme, and from Fairholme to Swine (CM I, p.356). Monkdyke later lost a great deal of water by bursting its banks, so that the mills in the abbey ceased to work (CM II, p.82).

North of the abbey the dyke now called Monkdyke was formerly called Wythdyke (i.e. the dyke by the wood). It ran from the bridge at Routh (now called Monk Bridge) to the abbey precinct, between Routh and Riston, and between Meaux and Arnold (CM I, pp.30,304,355; II, p.37) and diverted water that formerly ran through the marsh of Leven (CM II, p.42). Above Routh Bridge another, perhaps connected, dyke, also called Monkdyke, was the boundary between Brandesburton and Burshill (CM II, p.93). Criftins dyke in Long Riston, mentioned in the 13th century, probably emptied into Monkdyke near Routh Bridge (CM I, p.304 and Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.251). There was another dyke of the same name at Winkton in North Holderness (ERAST XVIII (1911), p.58.

The Foredyke is first mentioned between 1197 and 1210 (CM I, pp.300, 310-11; HMC Hastings I, pp.166-8) and was probably in existence at this time as a land boundary between Wawne and Sutton. The waters of the dyke came from the Lambwath stream, another part of which went into Monkdyke. The origin of the name is probably "dyke with a ford" (Smith, Place-Names of the ER, pp.3,43) which suggests that at the time it was named it was not navigable. An agreement for improving the dyke was reached in the period 1221-35 between Saer de Sutton, John de Meaux, William de St Lucy, Peter de Wawne, the tenants of Sutton and the abbey of Meaux, by which the waterway would be made 16' wide and 6' deep, with a towpath on both sides, two bridges (at Forecross and near the Hull) and two clows, one at the Foredyke pond to help the abbey mills and another at the Hull (HMC Hastings I, p.165; CM I, pp.410-11). As it neared the Hull the Foredyke was divided into two "gutters", later called the Foredyke and Suttondyke (CM I, p.405; II, p.211). One gutter ran in a straight line from Foredyke bridge to the Hull, and probably fell into the Hull near the "Fish House Vaccary" of the 1852-3 Ordnance Survey map, for Meaux abbey had a fishery where the two waters met: this is confirmed by the descriptions of the dyke in CM I, pp.300,405, and is shown on Grundy and Smeaton's drainage map of 1764 (copy in Beverley Borough library). The other gutter probably continued south on or near its 20th-century line to form a boundary to the West Carr of Sutton, described in 1197-1210 as near Soffham (CM I, p.300) and next Foredyke (CM II, p.9). Some alteration has taken place, because on the 1852-3 map the Foredyke did not divide Sutton from Bransholme as it was supposed to do (CM I, p.410) and also it cut across the lines of field boundaries in the carrs. The Foredyke was altered in the 18th century (J. Sheppard, The Draining of the Hull Valley, p.14) and much of it was filled in in the 20th century.

Monkdyke or Wythdyke still exists in the northern section as it was described in the Meaux chronicle, but instead of turning west to flow into the court of the abbey, it continues south into Foredyke, an alteration of 1580 (J. Sheppard, The Draining of the Hull Valley, p.7).

1. Le Patourel, "The Norman Conquest of Yorkshire", Northern History VI (1971), pp.1-21; Le Patourel, "The Norman Colonization of Britain", I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto medioevo, pp.423-4. Douglas, William the Conqueror, pp.272-3.
2. Or possibly, but less likely, from Beuvry, also near Béthune: George, "The Contribution of Flanders to the Conquest of England", Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire V (1926), p.89, n.37.
3. DB, ff.228,236,247,323b-325,360-360b,374,376,377-377b,432.
4. For Ulf see the introduction by F.M. Stenton to Foster and Longley (edds.) Lincolnshire Domesday and Lindsey Survey, p.xli; Whitelock, Anglo-Saxon Wills, pp.94-7,207-12; Binns, East Yorkshire in the Sagas, pp.19-22.
5. Whitelock, Anglo-Saxon Wills, pp.207-9. This led to some confusion, for in 1086 the Lincolnshire jurors referred some of Drogo's claims to the lands of Morcar to the king's court for decision: DB, f.377b. Drogo's Domesday lands lay throughout the shire in Lincolnshire, at Chadstone in Northamptonshire, at Erpingham, Hindringham, Bessingham, Barningham, Saxlingham and Burgh in Norfolk, at Sotherton in Suffolk and at Cold Overton and Hoby in Leicestershire.
6. Bodleian, Rawl. MS B 449, f.10, printed in Mon. Ang. V, p.393; CM I, pp.89-90.
7. For Drogo see also Planché, "The early lords of Holderness", Journal of the British Archaeological Association XXX (1874), pp.121-91 (it is not true, as Planché suggests, p.122 n.2, that Orderic Vitalis related the story of Drogo's flight); Ellis, "Biographical notes on the Yorkshire tenants named in Domesday Book", YAJ IV (1876), pp.214-6; Farrer's introduction to the Yorkshire Domesday in VCH Yorkshire II, p.171; Le Patourel, "The Norman Conquest of Yorkshire", Northern History VI (1971), pp.1-21. Ellis, art. cit. p.216, discovered an early 12th-century Theodoric de Beuera, lord of Beuera and castellan of Dixmuë, whom he believed might have been Drogo's heir: Theodoric married the daughter of Baldwin de Gant, nephew of Gilbert de Gant of Domesday Book. This may be a significant factor in the later disputes between the Gants and the Aumales, if Theodoric and the Gants felt they had a claim to Holderness, for in the 1140s the Aumales and the Gants attacked each other's lands (see below, p.37).
8. George, "The Contribution of Flanders to the Conquest of England", Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire V (1926); Douglas, William the Conqueror pp.266-7.
9. EYC I No.12.

10. George, "The Contribution of Flanders to the Conquest of England", Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, V. (1926), p.86; DB, f.326; Ellis, "Biographical notes on the Yorkshire tenants named in Domesday Book", YAJ IV (1876), pp.230-3.
11. George, "The Contribution of Flanders to the Conquest of England", Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, V. (1926), p.86; Douglas, William the Conqueror, p.267.
12. George, "The Contribution of Flanders to the Conquest of England", Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, V (1926), p.86 n.26.
13. DB f.382. The recapitulation is probably later than the main survey but not much later, because the fiefs of Roger the Poitevin and Robert de Brus had not yet been created, and they are entered as addenda to the Yorkshire folios, probably c.1090-1100; Brooks, DB and the ER, pp.51-2. Farrer, EYC I p.266 believed the recapitulation to be drawn up "possibly a year or more" after the completion of the survey.
14. Douglas, William the Conqueror, pp.355-6.
15. EYC III No.1300.
16. EYC III No.1304 and cf No.1307. See also below p.172 and note 25 of that page.
17. See plate 1.
18. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. II, p.184; Douglas, William the Conqueror, pp.215-6.
19. Illingworth, Yorkshire's Ruined Castles, p.6.
20. Illingworth, Yorkshire's Ruined Castles, pp.104-5; I'Anson, "Skipsea Castle", YAJ XXIV (1917), pp.258-62; Armitage, The early Norman castles of the British Isles, pp.209-10 and fig.31; VCH Yorkshire II, pp.37-9. All these works include plans of the earthworks.
21. See below, pp.54-5.
22. Le Patourel, "The Norman Conquest of Yorkshire", Northern History VI (1971), p.15 n.14.
23. The Latin title of the family was comes Albemarle, which has been variously translated at different times, as earl of Albemarle, earl of Aumale, count of Albemarle etc. The correct translation however should be count of Aumale, as the family did not possess an English earldom, but a French county. That having been said, it must be added that the chronicler Diceto records that in 1180 when William de Mandeville married the Aumale heiress, he was given the county of Aumale with its appurtenances on both sides of the sea (Diceto II, p.3).



- 23 cont'd A modern and incorrect form of the title is count of Aumale: there is no circumflex in the French place-name from which the title is derived. There is some justification for rendering the title as comte d'Aumale: but throughout this work the form "count of Aumale" will be used. See Clay, "Some medieval Lincolnshire and Yorkshire Connexions", Lincolnshire Historian II (1960), p.13; Loyd, Anglo-Norman Families, p.9.
24. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime I H 1, No.1; Stapleton, "Observations on the history of Adeliza, sister of William the Conqueror", Archaeologica XXVI (1836), pp.358-60; Gallia Christiana XI, p.274, from Annales Benedictini; Semichon, Aumale I, pp.391-3.
25. Wendover II, p.94.
26. Neustria Pia p.736.
27. The countess of Aumale held Borley and Sciddinghow in Essex (DB, f.91b) and also Burgh, Belstead, Chadacre in Shimpling, Harkstead, Gusford, Henley, Clopton and Debach, all in Suffolk (DB, f.430b). Small acreages of land in Boulge, Monewden and Charsfield, Suffolk, held by the countess in 1086, are not found later in the hands of the counts.
28. An 11th-century charter to Aumale, at Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime I H 1, No.1. Semichon, Aumale I, especially pp.288-316, gives the early history of the abbey.
29. Bodleian Rawl. MS B 449, f.10.
30. CM I, p.89.
31. Stapleton, "Observations on the history of Adeliza, sister of William the Conqueror", Archaeologia XXVI (1836), pp.353-4; Planché, "The early lords of Holderness", Journal of the British Archaeological Association XXX (1874), pp.124-5; Jubainville, Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne I, pp.373-7 and II, p.cxxxix.
32. L'art de vérifier les dates XI, pp.359-60 and XII, pp.429-30; Fauroux, Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066, No.114 and p.524.
33. Fauroux, Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066, No.114.
34. Adelaide's second husband was killed in 1054, leaving her free to marry Odo. It is probable that Odo was married to Adelaide before the death of Archbishop Maurilius in August 1067, as Odo and Maurilius are mentioned in connection with the consecration of the church of St Martin d'Auchy (archives of Seine-Maritime I H 1, No.1). It was certainly well before 1090, when Stephen, son of Odo and Adelaide, was old enough to fight in Normandy (below, p.28).

35. Adelaide was either the whole or (less likely) half sister to William I. She must have been the daughter of Duke Robert for her son Stephen to be considered for the English throne in 1095; no mere grandchild of Herleve would qualify. It is possible, though not likely, that she was the daughter of Duke Robert by another woman than Herleve. See White, "The Conqueror's brothers and sisters", Complete Peerage XII (i), Appendix K, pp.33-4; Douglas, William the Conqueror, pp.380-1. A great deal of misinformation is in print about Adelaide, stemming from an article by Stapleton in Archaeologia XXVI, pp.349-60, where he suggested that she was Duke Robert's grand-daughter. He corrected his error in Coll. Top. et Gen. VI, p.265 and Rot. Scacc. Norm. II, pp.xxix-xxxi, but the error is still found in later works such as Freeman's Norman Conquest IV. For the pedigree and the sources from which it was constructed, see Complete Peerage I, p.351 note d; Farrer, EYC III, p.87.
36. Bodleian Rawl. MS B 449, f.10; CM I, pp.89-90; Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. II, p.221; Chibnall, Ord. Vit. II, pp.264-5.
37. The Cistercian chroniclers suggest that this request was made on the birth of Stephen, but he was in possession of Aumale by 1090 and must have been born long before 1086-7. See notes 29 and 30, above.
38. Gallia Christiana XI, Instr. col.69; Complete Peerage I, p.351 note c; Neustria Pia, p.659. Douglas, "The earliest Norman counts", EHR LXI (1946), p.146 n.
39. Stapleton, "Observations on the history of Adeliza, sister of William the Conqueror", Archaeologia XXVI (1836), p.358. She was described between 1086 and 1096 as "Countess Adelaide, daughter of Enguerrand and Adelaide, who succeeded after their deaths".
40. In 1096 a charter of Count Stephen about Aumale was made with the consent of his sister Adelaide, showing that she had some rights over Aumale, but what they were is not clear: Gallia Christiana XI, Instr. col. 19-20.
41. A+S Chron. s.a. 1087; DB to MC, pp.100 ff.
42. The trial of William de St Calais is printed in Syemon of Durham I, pp.170-95; Douglas and Greenaway, English Historical Documents II, p.613. See also David, "A Tract attributed to Simeon of Durham", EHR XXXII (1917), pp.382-7; Offler, "The tractate 'De iniusta vexacione Willelmi episcopi primi'", EHR LXVI (1951), pp.321-41, which redates the tract c.1112. See also EYC II p.298.

43. Mon. Ang. III, p.544, from the chronicle of Stephen of Whitby relating to the founding of the abbey. The original is now BL Add. MS 38816, f.29v.
44. Quo Warranto, p.201. The gift of Hornsea to the abbey is printed in EYC III No.1299, and royal confirmation in EYC I No.354. The only other suggestion that Odo came to England with the Conqueror is in the fanciful account of Wace, who includes a "Sire d'Aubemare" among those present at Hastings: Holden (ed), Wace, Roman de Rou II, p.198.
45. Regesta I, No.30, date corrected from 1069 to 1068 in Regesta II, p.391.
46. Regesta I, p.323.
47. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. III, p.319; Chibnall, Ord. Vit. IV, pp.182-3; A-S Chron. s.a. 1090.
48. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. III, p.366; Chibnall, Ord. Vit. IV, p.237.
49. Regesta I, No.323.
50. A-S Chron. s.a. 1095-6; Symeon of Durham II, p.226; Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. III, pp.407-12; Chibnall, Ord. Vit. IV, pp.280-5.
51. William of Tyre I, p.95.
52. Round, Cal. Docs. France, Nos.667, 1235.
53. Gallia Christiana XI, instr. col. 19-20.
54. It is also possible that the lands recorded as belonging to Count Odo in Lincolnshire 1115-1118 were entered as a result of a confusion with the late bishop of Bayeux, also called Odo. These lands were 5 bovates in Osgodby, 1 carucate in Risby, 1 carucate 2 bovates in Audleby, 2 carucates in Grasby, 1 carucate, 3 bovates in Newton by Toft, making a total of 6 carucates; Foster and Longley (edds.) Lincolnshire Domesday and Lindsey Survey.
55. In addition to the references to Count Odo quoted above, there are accounts of him in Jubainville, Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne I, pp.373-7; II, p.cxxxix; Planché, "The Early Lords of Holderness", Journal of the British Archaeological Association XXX (1874), pp.121-9; Dictionnaire de biographie française IV, sub Aumale.
56. Round, Cal. Docs. France, Nos. 667,1235; EYC III No.1300.
57. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. IV, pp.176-7.
58. A-S Chron. s.a. 1100.
59. Mason, "Roger de Montgomery and his sons (1067-1102)", TRHS 5th ser.XIII (1963), pp.1-28.
60. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. IV, pp.176-7.

61. The county of Ponthieu had passed to Bellême in the following manner: Enguerrand, the count who had married Adelaide, Stephen of Aumale's mother, died without male heir and his brother Guy succeeded to the county. Guy died in 1101 (Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. III, p.236), and his son dying young, Ponthieu passed to his daughter Agnes, who married Robert de Belleme. It might be considered that the Aumale family had some claim to Ponthieu, as descendants of the daughter of an earlier count.
62. Le Prevost, Ord. Vit. III, p.319; Chibnall, Ord. Vit. IV, pp.182-3; A-S Chron. s.a. 1090.
63. Gallia Christiana XI, Instr. cap. 19-20.
64. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime I H 1, Nos. 1,2,5; EYC III Nos.1304, 1307; Delisle, Actes de Henri II, II p.210; Gallia Christiana XI, No.15, p.19; Semichon, Aumale I, p.308n and map of Aumale at end of Vol. I. See also Loyd, Anglo-Norman Families, p.9. The churches and lands shown by the early charters are:  
 Churches of Haudricourt, St Walericus, Beaufresne, St Saturnin, Ellecourt, Flames or Flamines (now Flamets?), Illois, Villers beyond the wood (now Villers sur Foucarmont), another Villers, Hedonisilva, St Mary de Castello, St Peter, St Lazare and St Mary beyond the water (now Notre Dame de Cardonnoy), the last four being in Aumale.  
 The wood of Muflières.  
 Land and other possessions in Aumale and Auchy.  
 Half the land called Bertainmesnil.  
 Half the tithes of Quirieres.  
 Tithes of Pulteriis, Rotoirs, Antiona (?), Berberias, Divione, Fleuzy, Vieux Rouen and Blosseville.  
 Mill of Avenel.  
 (Those places underlined thus: \_ \_ \_ have not been identified).
65. Stapleton, Mag. Rot. Scacc. Norm. II, p.cxx.
66. Round, Cal. Docs. France, No.1264; Paris, archives de France S 1410 No.20.
67. Hulme in the Cotentin has a complicated history. It was settled as dower on Adela, wife of Richard III duke of Normandy in 1026 (Stapleton, Mag. Rot. Scacc. Norm. II, p.xxix) but as the marriage was never consummated, the dower reverted to Robert, brother and heir of Richard III. Adelaide, sister of Duke Robert (and aunt of the Conqueror) bought the castle of Hulme and gave it c.1075 to Holy Trinity Caen (Round, Cal. Docs. France, No.421). In 1082



67 cont'd William the Conqueror gave Holy Trinity Caen the bourg of Hulme, with a reservation of the inheritance of Adelaide countess of Aumale for her life (Neustria Pia, p.659; Gallia Christiana XI, Instr. col.69). The castle was apparently withheld from Holy Trinity Caen after Adelaide's death by Count Stephen of Aumale, who garrisoned it in 1090 (Stapleton, Mag. Rot. Scacc. Norm. II, p.xxx). Stephen's daughter another Adelaide had Hulme for her marriage portion, and she gave St Sauveur-le-Vicomte the church of St Mary Hulme between 1151 and 1179, a gift which was confirmed by Henry II (Round, Cal. Docs. France, Nos. 971,980). There are three Adelaides concerned:

1. Countess Adelaide, sister of Duke Robert, aunt of William the Conqueror.
2. Countess Adelaide, sister of the Conqueror, countess of Aumale, mother of Stephen count of Aumale.
3. Adelaide, great-niece of the Conqueror, daughter of Count Stephen.

In addition there is a fourth Adelaide who had some rights in Aumale, and was the Conqueror's niece and sister to Stephen count of Aumale.

Further tenants and lands of the counts of Aumale are recorded in the confirmation to Foucarmont by Henry II between 1156 and 1161 (Delisle, Actes de Henri II, I, No.176). It is difficult to see precisely which lands confirmed to Foucarmont were of the count of Aumale's fee and which of the count of Eu or others: but they appear to be:

The vill, territory, church and tithes of Nemoris Ulberti.

Rights in the mills of Fanencourt.

Land in Fraitiz, Plaisencia and possibly at Illois.

Land at the king's dyke (could this be the boundary of the county, which is known to have had lands east of the Bresle?)

(Those places underlined thus \_ \_ \_ have not been identified).

In December 1204 Philip Augustus granted Reginald count of Boulogne the county of Aumale with its dependencies in the forest of Eu, except Arguel and other fiefs elsewhere, in exchange for the castle and fief of Mortemer. The county was not described in any detail in the grant. Delaborde, Petit-Dutaillis and Monicat (eds.), Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste II, No.862.

68. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. III, p.319.

69. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. III, p.346.
70. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. III, p.366.
71. Regesta I, No.328.
72. Florence of Worcester II, p.38. Langtoft I, pp.442-3, a writer from the East Riding, says the plot was the king was to be replaced by his cousin.
73. According to L'art de vérifier les dates XII, p.430, followed by Planché, "The early lords of Holderness", Journal of the British Archaeological Association XXX (1874), p.128, after the rebellion Stephen, who was at that time in England, took refuge in the abbey of St Oswy (Tynemouth in Northumberland), was captured and taken to Bamburgh castle, where William Rufus ordered his eyes to be put out. Owing to the prayers of his wife and relatives, and a sum of money paid, the king spared him. This story however is a confusion with the fate of Robert de Mowbray, who was taken at Tynemouth and threatened with blinding outside Bamburgh castle, unless his wife gave up the castle. A-S Chron. s.a. 1095.
74. Gallia Christiana XI, Instr. No.XV.
75. William of Tyre I, p.149.
76. Albert of Aix, in Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux, IV, p.316.
77. William of Tyre I, p.287. For a detailed account of the battle, see Oman, History of the art of war in the middle ages I, pp.282-8.
78. A-S Chron. s.a. 1100.
79. Mason, "Roger de Montgomery and his sons", TRHS 5th series XIII (1963), pp.1-28.
80. A-S Chron. s.a. 1102-1104.
81. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. IV, p.199.
82. A-S Chron. s.a. 1104.
83. Regesta II, No.1074.
84. EYC III No.1304.
85. EYC III Nos.1308,1309.
86. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. IV, pp.315,319.
87. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. IV, p.326.
88. Probably the place of that name 7 km north of Aumale, which was part of the Aumale lands.
89. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. IV, p.395.

90. Regesta II, No.1427.
91. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. IV, pp.473-4.
92. A-S Chron. s.a. 1128. L'art de vérifier les dates states that Stephen of Aumale went on crusade after 1127 and died in the Holy Land. The story is repeated by Doyle, The Official Baronage of England, and Farrer, EYC III, p.27. The original sources of the statement have not been found, and it is not repeated in recent biographical accounts of Stephen of Aumale, such as Complete Peerage I, pp.352-3.
93. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime I H 1, Nos. 1 and 2; EYC III Nos. 1304, 1380, 1381, 1395; Gallia Christiana XI Instr. XVI, p.20.
94. The marriages of the daughters are shown in the tree printed by Farrer, EYC III, p.87, from Bodleian Rawl. MS B 449, f.10.
95. EYC III Nos. 1304, 1326; Gallia Christiana XI, Instr. No.XV. In addition Round, Cal. Docs. France, No.1264, which is Stephen's charter to St Martin des Champs, Paris, was from the witness list almost certainly issued in France.
96. 

<u>Source</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Grantee</u>
<u>Regesta</u> I, No.328	1092	prob. Lincoln	church of Lincoln
<u>Regesta</u> II, No.689	1105	St Albans	Belvoir & St Albans
<u>Regesta</u> II, No.828	1107	poss. London	Binham & St Albans
<u>Regesta</u> II, No.920	1109	prob. Nottingham	Cluny
<u>Regesta</u> II, No.988	1111	Bishop's Waltham	bishop of Bath
<u>Regesta</u> II, No.1074	1114	Rouen	monks of Tiron
<u>Regesta</u> II, No.1427	1125	prob. Rouen	Reading
97. Matthew, The Norman monasteries and their English possessions, passim.
98. EYC III No.1304.
99. See below, chapter 3
- No notes 100-104
102. Archives de France S 1410, No.20; see plate 2.
103. CM I, p.89; Bodleian Rawl. MS B 449, f.10.
104. F. Ganshof, Feudalism, pp.125-6.
105. EYC III No.1304; Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime I H 1, Nos. 1,2; Gallia Christiana XI Instr. XVI, p.20.
106. CM I, p.76. He was called le Gros in a charter of his great-grandson, William de Forz III (Bodleian Rawl. MS B 455, f.184) so the nickname was evidently accepted by the family.

107. PR 31 Henry I, pp.29-32. William is mentioned four times under the Yorkshire entries, although he was not called count of Aumale. In addition, in or shortly before 1130 the foundation of St Martin d'Auchy near Aumale was made into an abbey by the efforts of William of Aumale and Henry I, and this promotion was confirmed by the archbishop of Rouen in a charter dated 1130: Neustria Pia, p.734, and Gallia Christiana XI, Instr. XVIII, p.22 and p.274.
108. The entry on the pipe roll is that Ebrard (Everard) steward of William of Aumale accounts for two gold marks, that he may no longer be steward of William. There is no similar entry on the pipe roll. The view that William had just inherited is supported by the fact that the sheriff of Yorkshire accounted for the ancient pleas of Holderness, but William accounted for the new pleas; PR 31 Henry I, pp.29,32. It is possible that Stephen count of Aumale suffered confiscation of his lands in 1127 (see pp.30-1 above) and that the king had just regranted them to the heir.
109. PR 31 Henry I, p.29.
110. EYC III Nos. 1308, 1309.
111. St Bees Reg. Nos. 495,532, from the Chronicon Cumbrie "per predictum Henricum tunc Regem Anglye in custodia domini regis infra etatem". Cecily must have lived to a great age, if she was married in the reign of Henry I and lived until 1187. The phrase infra etatem in the above quotation may refer to both William le Gros and Cecily.
112. Holmcultram Reg. p.20.
113. EYC VII pp.19-20,77.
114. Henry of Huntingdon, p.270.
115. St Bees Reg. Nos.27,255, and see John of Eston's claim, below pp.73-4.
116. Regesta III, Nos.271,944.
117. Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p.270.
118. Cronne, The Reign of Stephen, p.36.
119. Howlett (ed) Chronicles of Stephen III, p.182; Ailred of Rievaulx describes William at this time as "iuvenis tunc strenuissimus, et in armis multum exercitatus". Accounts of the Battle of the Standard are in the A-S Chron. s.a. 1138, naming William as the leader and the man to whom King Stephen had entrusted York: John of Hexham, pp.293-4; Richard of Hexham, pp.159-64; Ailred of Rievaulx's Battle of the Standard is in Howlett (ed), Chronicles of Stephen III, pp.179-99; see also Maxwell, The Early Chronicles Relating to Scotland, pp.147-53. There is a good account of the



- 119 cont'd battle in Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, pp.271-2;  
 Leadman, Battles fought in Yorkshire, pp.14-25; Oman, History of the art of War I, pp.390-6.
120. John of Hexham, p.295; Richard of Hexham, p.165.
121. Regesta III, No.638.
122. Regesta III, No.271,944.
123. William le Gros witnessed the following charters of King Stephen:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Regesta III No.</u>
AS EARL OF YORK			
1138-1139	Westminster	St Frideswide, Oxford	638
1138-1143	York	Savigny	803
1138-1154	York	Beverley minsster	100
1139-1140	Oxford	Alcester abbey	16
AS WILLIAM OF AUMALE			
1136	Oxford	charter of liberties	271
1136	Westminster	Winchester cathedral	944
AS COUNT OF AUMALE			
1138-1143	York	York minster	981
1140	Waverley	Waverley abbey	921
1140-1144	Newton	earl of Leicester	437
1141	Canterbury	earl of Essex	276
1147-1149	London	St Benet's Hulme	402
1147-1153	Northampton	Sawtry abbey	814
1153	Westminster	treaty with Henry (II)	272

124. Round, Geoffrey de Mandeville, pp.267-77; White, "King Stephen's earldoms", TRHS 4th ser. XIII (1930), pp.51-82; F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, pp.225-32; Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, pp. 157-8; Davis, King Stephen, Appendix I "Earls and Earldoms", pp.129-44.
125. Regesta III, Nos.101, 124,991-2.
126. See below, p.276.
127. Newburgh I, p.103.

128. William acquired Danby from the Brus family, probably during the minority of Adam de Brus II, who may have married William's sister Agnes (EYC II, pp.34-5.) Some of his other lands were taken from the fee of Brus. It would appear that he replaced Brus in some East Riding lands as mesne tenant of Bigod (EYC I pp490-1). He also confirmed to Guisborugh land of the Brus fee in Lofthus, North Riding, and service, which service was ultimately done to William himself (Guisborough Charty II, No.872) and acquired an interest in Skelton church, which was of the Brus fee (EYC II No.660). For his other acquisitions during the anarchy, see I'Anson, "Skipsea Castle", YAJ XXIV (1917), pp.258-62.
129. Scammell, Hugh du Puiset, p.9 and n.; Anderson, Early Sources of Scottish History II, p.150 and nn.; the life of Waltheni, in Acta Sanctorum Aug. 1, p.256, col. 1-2.
130. See above, pp.24-5.
131. Mon. Ang. I, p.420.
132. Nicholl, Thurstan of York, pp.144-5.
133. Acta Sanctorum Aug. 1, p.256-7; Powicke, Life of Ailred of Rievaulx, p.xliv; Nicholl, Thurstan of York, p.240.
134. See above, p.23.
135. Regesta III, No.921.
136. John of Hexham, p.307. For the election see John of Hexham, pp.303, 313; Knowles, "The Case of St William of York", Camb. Hist. J. V (1936), pp.162-77, 212-4; Talbot, "New Documents in the case of St William of York", Camb. Hist. J. X (1950-1952), pp.1-15; Scammell, Hugh du Puiset, pp.8-12; Nicholl, Thurstan of York, p.241.
137. For Walter of London see Clay, "Notes on the early archdeacons in the church of York", YAJ XXXVI (1944), p.283; Newburgh I, p.56.
138. John of Hexham, p.320.
139. John of Hexham, p.322.
140. CM I, pp.116-7.
141. John of Hexham, p.308. For the battle of Lincoln see John of Hexham, pp.307-8; Henry of Huntingdon, pp.268-75; Oman, History of the art of War I, pp.396-9.
142. Regesta III, No.276.
143. John of Hexham, p.312.
144. John of Hexham, p.315. Gilbert de Gant was on Stephen's side at the battle of Lincoln, where he was captured by Rannulf earl of Chester, and made to marry Rannulf's niece. Gant may have had a family quarrel with the Aumales over the granting of Holderness to them, see above, p.361 note 7.

145. Langtoft I, 1.485.
146. Langtoft I, 11.484-5. Farrer (EYC III p.87) names three brothers of le Gros, Stephen, Ingelram and Richard. The name Richard is probably taken from the witness list of a charter of Stephen count of Aumale dated 1096, which contains the names "Willelmo de Albemarla, Richero fratre eius" (EYC III No.1304): Farrer assumes the first is the grantor's son and that therefore Richer or Richard is another son. But it is quite possible that there were other Williams in Aumale: and as le Gros did not die until 1179, it is unlikely that he was witnessing charters in 1096. Two charters to Meaux of c.1151 mention the souls of William's brothers Stephen and Ingelram (EYC III Nos. 1380,1381). See also above, note 105, sources which mention William, Stephen and Ingelram as sons of Count Stephen of Aumale.
147. Langtoft I, 1.485.
148. The fortification of Bridlington was in 1143 according to John of Hexham (p.315) or 1144 according to Newburgh I, p.47).
149. Cronne, The Reign of Stephen, p.2.
150. John of Hexham, p.320.
151. Cronne, Reign of Stephen, pp.61-2.
152. Davis, King Stephen, p.89; the date from CM I, p.76, which records that William was seeking to be released from his vow when Pope Eugenius was in France, which was 1147-8.
153. Mon. Ang. V, pp.490-3; Bodleian Rawl. MS B 449, f.10.
154. See tree, EYC III, p.87.
155. A-S Chron. s.a. 1138.
156. Newburgh I, p.103.
157. CM I, p.76.
158. Regesta III, No.272.
159. Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p.161 and n.
160. Newburgh I, pp.103-4.
161. Eyton, Itin, Henry II p.5.
162. Scarborough became a royal castle, and its first governor was William le Gros's friend, the new archbishop of York, Roger Pont L'Evêque.
163. I'Anson, "Castles of North Riding" YAJ XXII (1913), pp.303-99.
164. Driffild occurs in PR 2 Henry II to PR 25 Henry II annually, among "terris datis".
165. This is not absolutely certain. Farrer, in EYC III p. 27, states that Henry II refused to acknowledge the title of earl of York.

165 cont'd Farrer very rarely explains the dates he gives for his charters (the one weakness of his great works) but any charters which have the title of earl of York he dates before 1154. If his authority for this is Newburgh I, pp.103-4, his final date should be 1155. In the period 1138-1155, when William was undoubtedly earl of York, he opened his charters sometimes with the title of count of Aumale, showing no particular preference for the title of earl of York. The new earldoms of Stephen and Matilda were not all suppressed after 1154. However William le Gros never witnessed a charter of Henry II as earl of York, so probably Farrer is correct in stating that Henry II refused to acknowledge the title. The royal charters William le Gros witnessed between 1154 and 1179 were:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Delisle, Recueil de Henri II ref.</u>
1161	Rouen	St Bartholomew London	I, p.339
1170-1173	Quévilly	Kirkstall abbey	I, p.573
1177	London	Spanish award	II, p.60
1172-1178	Quévilly	Boxley abbey	II, p.86
1174-1181	Westminster	Ivry abbey	II, p.140

166. EYC III Nos. 1308,1309.

167. See below, Appendix A.

168. The seven charters are EYC III Nos.1308,1313,1314,1320,1375,1396 and St Bees Reg. No.17. EYC III Nos. 1308,1375,1396 are addressed to Archbishop Roger. The remaining charters of the seven do not name the archbishop.

169. EYC III No.1308. This house had the unusual dedication to St Sepulchre: Archbishop Roger dedicated a chapel to St Mary and the Holy Angels, otherwise known as St Sepulchre, at the gate of his palace in York, on the north side of the minster (Thompson, "The chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, otherwise known as St Sepulchre's chapel at York", YAJ XXXVI (1947), pp.63-77,214-48).

170. Diceto, pp.348,351; Wendover I, p.88.

171. PR 5 Henry II, p.32 and PR 6 Henry II, p.15. The debt was omitted from the pipe rolls after 1162 by royal order: PR 8 Henry II, p.51.

172. PR 14 Henry II, p.90.

173. EYC II p.328.

174. CM I, pp.104-7.



175. PR 26 Henry II, p.74. William le Gros also confirmed to Brother Ivo the hermitage of St Leonard Egton, which was later confirmed again by William Fossard (EYC II No.1041).
176. Diceto, pp.348,351; Wendover I, p.88.
177. Benedict I, p.47; Diceto, p.373; date from Eyton, Itin. Henry II, p.175.
178. Newburgh, p.173. According to Coggeshall, p.18, William count of Aumale was involved in the conspiracy against the king in 1173. When he was captured, William resigned his other castles ("all his other castles", Newburgh, p.173; "two castles were captured from him" (Langtoft II, 1.9). Perhaps William held the castle of Le Homme, see above, p. 28. Bousard, Henri II, does not mention any other castles held by Le Gros.
179. Benedict I, p.154; Delisle, Recueil des actes de Henri II, p.60.
180. Benedict I, p.243.
181. His tomb is no longer identifiable, but at the time of the inventory made at the dissolution of the abbey in 1541-2, it appears that there was then a cradle of iron about the founder's tomb, a "hearse" similar to that still remaining over the tomb of Sir John Marmion at West Tanfield in the West Riding: Thornton Abbey (Ministry of Works guidebook, 1967), p.14.
182. William le Gros's seal is only known from the drawing in Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.40 which is reproduced as plate 4. See also above, p.32.
183. Gallia Christiana XI, p.22, No.xviii.
184. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H 1, No.5.
185. EYC I No.362 and EYC III No.1306.
186. EYC III Nos.1305,1313.
187. EYC III No.1306.
188. Newburgh, p.47.
189. For the history of Thornton, see Mon. Ang. VI i, p.342-6; VCH Lincolnshire II, p.163; Thornton Abbey (Ministry of Works guidebook, 1967); aerial photographs and description in Knowles and St Joseph, Monastic Sites, pp.200-1.
190. Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.963; VCH Lincolnshire II, p.196.
191. Memorials of Fountains I, pp. 93-5.
192. EYC III No.1308.
193. CM I, p.83.
194. CM I, pp.76,90,178. Walbran, Memorials of Fountains I, pp.94-6.

194 cont'd The Meaux chronicler remarks (but he seems doubtful because he prefaces the remark with "ut dicitur" that Adam was one of the men who left Whitby to go to York and then to Fountains (CM I, p.74), but as he lived until 1180 (CM I, p.108), he could not possibly have aided the foundation of St Mary's York c.1078. Baker, "The Desert in the North", Northern History V (1970), pp. 9 -10 accepts without comment Adam's presence at the foundation of York's abbey, and remarks that he must have been at least 78 when he became abbot of Meaux, and well over a hundred when he died!

For an aerial photograph of the site of Meaux abbey, see plate 3.

195. CM I, pp.91,212.

196. EYC VII p.13.

197. See pp. 79 - 118.

198. See pp.270, 272-82.

199. Semichon, Aumale I, p.

200. See p.161.

201. See p.73.

202. St Bees Reg. Nos.27,225.

203. Diceto II, p.3.

204. Mon. Ang. IV, p.143; Round, Geoffrey de Mandeville, p.242. The best chronicle source for the Mandeville family is the Walden chronicle, of which the original manuscript is missing, but late 16th<sup>cent.</sup>/transcripts are in the BL, Arundel MS 29 and Cotton Vesp. E vi, ff.25-71. It was published in translation by H. Collar, "The Book of the Foundation of Walden abbey", Essex Review XLV (1936), pp.73-236; XLVI (1937), pp.12-234; XLVII (1938), pp.36-220.

205. Norgate, Angevin Kings II, p.144.

206. Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae 1184, p.18.

207. Diceto II, p.32; Benedict I, pp.130,159; Mon. Ang. IV, pp.143-4.

He was accompanied part of the way by the prior of Walden: Walden chronicle, Essex Review XLV (1936), p.229. In France, William de Mandeville held lands in the neighbourhood of Argentan. He also had property elsewhere in Normandy, in the canon of Creulli (Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae 1184, p.18). In 1182 William de Mandeville answered a call for help made by his suzerain, the count of Flanders against the count of Hainault and the archbishop of Cologne (Benedict I, p.321; Diceto II, p.32). William was brought up at the court of Flanders, received his knighthood from Count Philip and went on crusade with Philip in 1177. He must have held some fief from the count, as Philip is called his "dominus" by Diceto (Diceto II, p.32).

207 cont'd But it is not necessary to conclude, as Boussard does (Gouvernement d'Henri II Planteg net, pp.88,89n) that the lands of the county of Aumale lay in Flanders. As William de Mandeville had a close connection with the Flemish court long before he was married to Hawisa, it is much more probable that he held lands of the count of Flanders in his own right.

208. Howden II, p.192.

209. Diceto II, p.3.

210. HMC Rutland IV, p.5.

211. EYC I No.617.

212. Rot. Scacc. Norm. I, p.71.

213. Benedict I, p.287; Howden II, p.269.

214. Benedict I, p.353; Howden II, p.314; Eyton, Itin. Henry II, p.226.

215. Benedict II, p.6.

216. Benedict II, p.47.

217. Benedict II, p.45.

218. Howden II, p.344.

No note 219.

220. Girald Cambrensis IV, p.369.

221. Coggeshall, p.23.

222. Benedict II, pp.79,80,87.

223. Itin. Richard I, pp.4-15.

224. Benedict II, pp.91-2. His business in Normandy was to take an oath before the French king, on Richard's behalf, that Richard would be at V zelay at the close of Easter, ready to leave on crusade. Some chroniclers (Wendover, Benedict and Coventry) record that he died at Rouen and some (Diceto and Devizes) record that he died at Gisors. He witnessed one of Richard's charters at Westminster on 12 November (Itin. Richard I, p.14) so it is unlikely that he died on 14 November at Rouen, as Diceto II, p.73, and more likely that he died on 12 December at Rouen, as Coggeshall, p.26. The Walden chronicle, Essex Review XLVII (1938), pp.89-91, gives a castle near Mortemer as the place of William's death and the date of 15 December.

225. Rot. Scacc. Norm. 1184, p.18.

226. See Appendix A. But it must be remembered that any twelfth-century charter which opens "Willelmus comes Albemarle" assigned by Farrer to William le Gros. Only five months separated the death of William le Gros and the marriage of William de Mandeville, and it can be shown that their charters

- 226.cont'd were witnessed by similar groups of tenants. In view of the statement by Devizes, that William de Mandeville was to use the title of Aumale, it is possible that some of the charters assigned to le Gros by Farrer were issued by the earl of Essex.
227. EYC III Nos.1310,1311; EYC I No.617; HMC Rutland IV, p.5.
228. Guisborough Charty II, p.212.
229. Painter, Feudalism and Liberty, pp.107-110.
230. His son (William de Forz II) called himself William de Forz (legend on his seal) but his grandson called himself, on his seal at least, William de Fortibus. For the marriage see Devizes, p.10 and PR 6 Richard, p.163.
231. PR 6 Richard, p.163.
232. CM I, p.91.
233. Howden III, pp.36,42, calls the first William, William de Forz de Ulerum, and Benedict II, pp.110,116 calls him de Olrun and de Uelerun. These forms probably represent Oléron. Before 1223 William de Forz II pawned his land of Forz to the countess of Eu, and the various stages of this transaction make it clear that Forz was in Poitou (R.Litt.Cl. I, p.556; Complete Peerage I, p.353). There is, however, no place called Forz, Fors, Fortibus or anything similar, in the Ile d'Oléron, or near Oloron, Bas Pyrenees (information from the BL map department). There are two places called Fors in Poitou, one 10 km south of Niort, one in the Loire valley. Neither of them is more than a small town. The origin of the family is thought to be the Fors near Niort, for in 1217 the count of Aumale was granted the land and heir of Ernald de Forez in Loulay, and Loulay is near Fors by Niort (Pat. R. 1216-25, p.95). Probably the Forz family owned land in Oléron, for one of their English allies, William de Bueles, came from there (see below, p.206). Later in the 13th century there was another William de Forz or Fortibus of Oléron. He was the son and heir of Hugh de Vivonne, who was sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, and seneschal of Poitou (Close R. 1247-51, p.280; Col. Top. et Gen. VII, p.137, and see below, p.62). In 1248 William de Fortibus son of Hugh de Vivonne was given permission to go to "his own parts of Poitou" and there acquire as best he could the land belonging to him by inheritance through the death of Amery de Vivonne his uncle, to hold with those lands in England he inherited" (Cal. Pat. R. 1247-58, p.13). In 1253-4 he was in Gascony on the king's service



233 cont'd (Roles Gascons I, pp.269,371,382) and in April 1253 as

Guillielm de Furt de Urnun (=Oléron), he was given the mayoralty of Bayonne (Roles Gascons I, p.399). In 1254 he was to be given seisin if his land in the isle of Oléron which had belonged to Hugh de Vivonne his father, with all eschaets which accrued to the land after it came into the king's hand (Roles Gascons I, p.410). He married Maud or Matilda, widow of Simon de Kyme (Cal. Pat. R. 1247-58, p.23) by whom he had four daughters, his co-heirs. He died in 1259 (Rot. Fin. 1246-72, p.301).

There was some connection between William de Forz son of Hugh de Vivonne and William de Forz count of Aumale, for Hugh de Vivonne held land for his life from the counts at Borley Essex and at Clopton, Suffolk (Rot. Litt. Cl. I., p. 598 ; Close R. 1227-31, p.334; Close R. 1247-51, p.258; CRR XIII, Nos. 1107, 2012.)

As Roger of Howden died in 1201, long before William de Forz son of Hugh de Vivonne was of age, it is not possible that he confused the count with the mayor of Bayonne. The connection between the two men, and the reason why the son of Hugh de Vivonne should be called William de Forz, remains obscure. If William de Forz was an illegitimate son of the count, brought up in the Vivonne family, it seems strange that he should inherit his foster-father's lands, in preference to Hugh de Vivonne II.

234. Itin. Richard I, pp.18,26,28,32,35,36. William de Forz was in England with Richard at Canterbury in November 1189, at Mayet and Rouen in March 1190, at Cognac in May, at Tours in June, and at Douzy and Vézelay in July, when Richard met Philip Augustus there.

235. Devizes, p.389.

236. Twiss, Black Book of the Admiralty, pp.lvii-lxiv, 88-131.

237. Pipe R. 5 Richard, pp.37,166.

238. See below, p.48.

239. Itin. Richard I, pp.26,28,32,35,36.

240. Howden II, p.63, drawn up in October, ratified 11 November.

241. PR 2 Richard, p.73.

242. PR 2 Richard, pp.131,1156.

243. These men are called justiciars by Benedict II, p.110 and Wendover, p.181, and "ductores et constabularios totius navigii" by Howden III, p.36. Howden also called them justiciars later in the same passage. The appointments were made in March or April 1190 at Chinon: Norgate, Richard the Lionheart, p.114.

244. Howden III, p.46; Benedict II, p.120. Thirty-three ships were bought from the Cinque Ports for the crusade (PR 2 Richard, p.xxi), the same number that William de Forz had later at the mouth of the Tagus.
245. Benedict II, p.120.
246. Howden III, p.63; Itin. Richard I, pp.169-70.
247. Norgate, Richard the Lionheart, p.138.
248. Stenton, "Roger of Howden and 'Benedict'", EHR LXVIII (1953), pp.580-1; Itin. Richard I, p.52.
249. Itin. Richard I, p.188.
250. PR 3-4 Richard, pp.xxvii,174,222.
251. Warren, King John, p.124.
252. PR 5 Richard, pp. 37,166.
253. PR 6 Richard, p.162.
254. Howden III, p.306.
255. See below, Appendix A.
256. Benedict II, p.76.
257. Farrer, Honors and Knights Fees I, pp.22-8.
258. Meyer, Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, lines 4543,7197,7998,8609,8651; Painter, William Marshal, pp.33,46,51,69,113.
259. Painter, William Marshal, p.69.
260. Meyer, Guillaume le Maréchal, lines 5095-5668; Powicke, Loss of Normandy, pp.164-5; Painter, William Marshal, p.46.
261. Itin. Richard I, p.37.
262. Itin. Richard I, p.60.
263. Four companions are named by Coggeshall: Baldwin de Béthune, Philip the king's clerk, afterwards bishop of Durham, William de l'Etang and Anselm the king's chaplain: Itin. Richard I, p.70.
264. Coggeshall, pp.53-6; Howden III, pp.214-5.
265. Itin. Richard I, pp.80-1.
266. Howden III, pp.215-6.
267. Howden III, pp.275-8.
268. Howden III, p.275.
269. Rotuli Magni Scaccarii Normanniae I, pp.clvii,210.
270. See below, p. 201.
271. Itin. Richard I, p.118.
272. Itin. Richard I, pp.121-3.
273. Itin. Richard I, p.132.
274. Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis, p.257.
275. See below, p. 201.

276. PR 10 Richard I, pp.183,184,194.
277. Rot. Lib. p.15; also many entries in the pipe rolls.
278. Howden III, p.302; Itin. Richard I, pp.103-4, 106-9; Powicke, Loss of Normandy, p.146.
279. Itin. Richard I, p.113.
280. Rigord I, p.136; Itin. Richard I, p.114.
281. Howden IV, p.5; Rigord I, p.136; Itin. Richard I, p.114; Powicke, Loss of Normandy, pp.165-6.
282. Delaborde, Petit-Dutaillis and Monicat (eds.) Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste II, No.862.
283. R. Litt. Pat. I, p.41.
284. Rot. Chart. I, p.30.
285. Rot. Obl. et Fin. p.71.
286. One of Countess Hawisa's aunts had married a Vidame de Picquigny: Rot. Lib. pp.33,41,43.
287. Alice was married about 1214, and died before 1221, probably about 1216. A grant by William Marshal for the soul of his late wife Alice is attested by William count of Aumale the brother of the said Alice and Baldwin de Béthune the brother of the same Alice. HMC IX, Nos. 151,298; Docs. Illustr. of Eng. Hist. in 13th and 14th cents., p.255.
288. Michel, Hist. des ducs de Normandie, pp.99-100; Powicke, Loss of Normandy, pp.434-5.
289. Painter, William Marshal, p.142; Méyer, Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, line 1152.
290. Rot. Prest. pp.214,226.
291. Michel, Hist. des ducs de Normandie, p.115; EYC VII p.20; CM I, p.379. In 1620 Roger Dodsworth saw at the ruins of Meaux an inscription over an arch which read "Hic requiescit corpus Baldwini de Betonio quondam comitis Albemarle" (Memorials of Fountains I, p.99 n. from Dodsworth MS 160, f.185d). One stone of this inscription still survives at Meaux - see plate No.7. Baldwin left 40 quarters of corn to Meaux: R. Litt. Cl. I, pp.136,144,154.
292. Rot. Chart. p.189. This was the largest payment of the kind offered in the reign: Painter, Reign of King John, p.219.
293. On 22 March Countess Hawisa's lands were committed to Fulk de Oyr to keep (R. Litt. Cl. I, p.133). She was probably dead by 8 March, 1214, when the profits of her lands were to be kept in the Temple (Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.141). Complete Peerage I, p.355 gives 11 March as the date of her death, but without references.

294. HMC Rutland IV, p.5; EYC III No.1376 and note.
295. Rot. Hund. I, p.260.
296. See below, Appendix A.
297. Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.232d; CM I, p.379.
298. R. Litt. Cl. I, p.144.
299. CM I, pp.289-90.
300. CM I, pp.326-8. Another text of the chronicle gives £1,000 as the fine: CM I, p.326 n.7.
301. Bodleian, Dods. MS 100, f.85.
302. YI I, p.79; PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6.
303. See below, pp. 212-3.
304. See above, nn.292 and 293.
305. See below, pp. 212-4.
306. HUL, DDCC/135/1.
307. Devizes, p.389.
308. Book of Seals, No.44; HMC Rutland IV, p.6.
309. HMC Rutland IV, p.6, a charter made at Westminster in 1181. The names are "Domina Aanor de Waldon, Mabilia de Osovilla, Beatrice de Gueres, Avicia, Beatrice de Berneres, Matilda de Hastings".
310. PR 11 John, p. 172.
311. BL Add. Ch. 20559; Book of Seals, No.444; HMC Rutland IV, p.6; Archives de France S 5205, No.22. See plate No.6.
312. Warren, King John, pp.220-1.
313. R. Litt. Pat. p.104. The letter is on the roll between one of 1 October and one of 5 October. The entries on the early rolls of John are not always in chronological order: but the letter to William de Forz was issued at the New Temple, London, where John was on 5 October.
314. Holt, The Northerners, pp.86, 92-3; see also below, pp.190-1.
315. Richard de Montfichet the elder had inherited the barony of Stansted Mountfichet, Essex, from his father Gilbert (d.1186-7); it had been the Domesday fief of Robert Gernons, and was held by the Montfichets for 40 knights' fees and later for 47½ knights' fees. Richard the elder was dead by 1203 (PR 5 John, p.132; PR 6 John, p.246) and his widow Millicent married William de Warenne of Wormegay in that year (EYC VIII, p.33). His son Richard came of age 1212-1214 (he witnessed a charter of King John in May 1214; Cal. Papal Regs. I, p.45) and d.s.p. 1267, when his heirs were the descendants of his three sisters, Margaret who married firstly Hugh de Bolebec and subsequently was given by William de Forz II to Peter de Fauconberg (BL, Harl. Ch. 50 D 39), Aveline who married William de Forz II and Philippa who married



- 315 cont'd Hugh de Plaiz (Cal. P.p.m. II, No.130). The heirs of Richard the elder were for a time in the wardship of Robert de Lacy, constable of Chester and lord of Pontefract, who paid £1,000 for the privilege in 1203, but their marriages belonged to the king (PR 5 John, p.132; PR 13 John, p.123). Aveline, daughter of William de Forz III, inherited 1/3 of the Montfichet inheritance before she died in 1274. Sanders, English Baronies, p.83; VCH Essex, IV, p.227 and VI, p.9; Cal. I.p.m. I, pp.217-8).
316. Rot. Chart. p.201; Paris, Chron. Major III, p.624 "mulier admirabilis pulchritudinis".
317. Painter, The Reign of King John, p.235. This suspicion about Aveline is transmogrified by W.L. Warren, King John, pp.83,189, into a definite statement that the aged Countess Hawisa was the king's mistress!
318. Rot. Chart. p.201; undated, but entered between charters of 30 Sept. and 28 October 1214. On 2 Sept. the king granted William de Forz his manor of Skipton in Craven: R.Litt. Cl. I, p.227.
319. R. Litt. Pat. p.122. For Fulk de Ory and Robert de Ros, see below, pp. 119-27, and 190-1.
320. R. Litt. Cl. I, p.175.
321. In March 1215; R. Litt. Cl. I, p.191.
322. Wendover II, p.117; Painter, Reign of King John, pp.286-7.
323. Rot. Chart. p.218; R. Litt. Pat. p.154; R. Litt. Cl. I, pp.227,229,230,260.
324. Rot. Litt. Pat. p.152. The castellans of Northampton, Kenilworth, Nottingham and Scarborough were ordered to obey the 25 barons by the terms of Magna Carta, so it is possible that at this date William de Forz was on the baronial side still: Wendover II, p.133. For the distribution of rebels and royalists in the north at this time, see Painter, Reign of King John, pp.354-7.
325. Wendover II, p.162.
326. Wendover II, p.166.
327. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.136.
328. R. Litt. Cl. I, pp.246,255,263; Rot. Obl. p.574.
329. Rot. Chart. pp.220-1.
330. Coventry II, p.231; Michel, Histoire des ducs de Normandie, p.174.
331. Coventry II, p.231.
332. The king ordered Thomas de Samford to receive the countess of Aumale,

- 332 cont'd wife of the count, with her boys and those she brought with her, into the castle of Devizes, giving them a suitable room in which to stay. This sounds more like protective custody than imprisonment: letter patent dated 15 June, 1216, R. Litt. Pat. p.187.
333. Michel, Histoire des ducs de Normandie, p.179.
334. R. Litt. Pat. p.199.
335. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.13.
336. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.108; Wendover II, pp.208,212; Paris, Chron. Major III, pp.28-9 n, and Hist. Ang. II, p.221 n.
337. R. Litt. Cl. I, pp.322,323,247.
338. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.95.
339. Ibid, pp.97,99.
340. Ibid, p.118.
341. Ibid, p.99.
342. Ibid, p.102.
343. Ibid, p.119.
344. Ibid, p.136.
345. Shirley, Royal Letters I, p.19.
346. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.257. But when the castles were taken, not even three loaves of bread were found in them (Wendover IV, p.36).
347. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.257; R. Litt. Cl. I, p.434; Shirley, Royal Letters I, p.56.
348. Turner, "The minority of Henry III", TRHS 3rd ser. I (1907), p.239. Turner gives a detailed account in this article of the events preceding and during the Bytham war.
349. Joan, nicknamed "Makepeace". Part of her dower was the manor of Driffild, which William de Forz may have considered as his right: see below, pp.69-70.
350. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.235; Foedera I i, p.160.
351. R. Litt. Cl. I, p.439; he spent £100.
352. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.240; on 27 June the count of Aumale had letters of conduct to the king, Pat. R. 1216-25, p.239.
353. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.240; Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.496.
354. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Lincolnshire 1218-19 and Worcester-shire 1221, pp.1i-liv, 66,111,136,203-4.
355. Shirley, Royal Letters I, p.20.
356. CRR IX, No.358 and cf. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Lincolnshire 1218-19 and Worcestershire 1221, pp.1ii-liii.
357. The north Lincolnshire lands paid suit to Barrow. After the loss of

- 357 cont'd Bytham, Holywell became the caput of the south Lincolnshire lands.
358. John of Hexham, p.307; see p.36 above. The castle mound is to the east of the village of Castle Bytham; the site is described by Wild, The History of Castle Bytham and by Welby, "Bytham Castle and the Coleville Family", Lincolnshire Notes and Queries XV (1919), p.24. See plate No.7.
359. Rot. Hund. I, p.260b. For the Coleville family, see Farrer, EYC I, p.462; Clay, EYC VI, pp 168-70; EYC IX, pp.32-3.
360. Mon. Ang. VI, p.825.
361. Wendover II, p.166.
362. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.74.
363. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.323.
364. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.119.
365. CRR VIII, pp.163-4.
366. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Lincolnshire 1218-1219 and for Worcestershire 1221, pp. liv-lvi.
367. CRR VIII, p.30.
368. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Lincolnshire 1218-1219 and for Worcestershire 1221, pp. 203, 348-50.
369. CRR VIII, pp.163-4.
370. Shirley, Royal Letters I, p.129.
371. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.249.
372. Turner, "The minority of Henry III", TRHS 3rd ser. I (1907), p.249.
373. R. Litt. Cl. I, p.444, dated 14 December.
374. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.306; Hugh's appointment confirmed, 4 Jan. 1221, Pat. R. 1216-25, p.275. It was possible that having failed to obtain the Poitevin appointment, William de Forz expected to be given Bamburgh castle, formerly held by Philip de Ulecote. Certainly after the count broke into open rebellion, the defence of Bamburgh and Newcastle on Tyne caused the government concern. Turner, "The minority of Henry III", TRHS 3rd ser. I (1907), pp.249,254.
375. Wendover IV, p.66.
376. In May 1222 he was being asked to pay for his relief and for the stocking of his mother's land. Before August 1223 he had pawned his land of Fors to the countess of Eu (R. Litt. Cl. I, p.556). By 1226 he owed money to Leon the Jew of York (R. Litt. Cl. II, p.96) and ten years later he owed large sums to the crown (Memo. R. 14 Henry III, p.38). He died owing £269 7s. to the crown (Rot. Fin. I, p.357).

377. Denholm-Young, "A letter from the Council to Pope Honorius III, 1220-1", EHR LX (1945), p.95.
378. Turner, "The minority of Henry III", TRHS 3rd ser. I (1907), p. 250, suggests that William thought he should have been consulted over the Scottish marriage. The motives of the count are discussed in F.M. Powicke, Henry III and the Lord Edward, I, p.54n.
379. For Hugh de Vivonne and his son, William de Forz, see above, note 233.
380. Newark and Sleaford belonged to the bishop of Lincoln, Kimbolton to the earl of Essex.
381. Wendover II, p.255.
382. Fotheringay had been surrendered by William Marshal, then granted to the earl of Chester, during the minority of the son and heir of Earl David. Perhaps it was at this time in the possession of Hubert de Burgh: Turner, "The minority of Henry III", TRHS 3rd ser. I (1907), p.246.
383. Annales Monastici III, p.65.
384. Shirley, Royal Letters I, p.168; R. Litt. Cl. I, p.447.
385. Coventry II, p.247.
386. Coventry II, p.247; Wendover II, p.255. Wendover mentions Fawkes de Breauté, Philip Mark, Peter de Maulay and Engelard de Athie, all "new men" of King John, and all mercenaries. Dislike of them and their kind is recorded in Magna Carta cap. 50: Painter, Reign of King John, p.206. Both Fawkes and Philip Mark helped the king's forces during the Bytham war (Turner, "The minority of Henry III", TRHS 3rd ser. I (1907), p.254), but their mention by Wendover suggests current fears of the Poitevins in England.
387. Coventry II, p.248.
388. Shirley, Royal Letters I, p.170.
389. R. Litt. Cl. I, p.446.
390. Shirley, Royal Letters I, p.171.
391. In February: R. Litt. Cl. I, p.474.
392. Coventry II, p.248; Annales Monastici III, p.63. See also below, pp.206-7.
393. Wendover II, p.255; Annales Monastici III, p.63.
394. The castle was evidently rebuilt by 1225, when delegates were appointed to determine a suit between the rector of Bytham and William de Coleville, concerning among other matters, the tithes of the chapel in the castle of Bytham, and another chapel in the barbican: Registrum Antiquissimum III, p.345. It was the home of the Colevilles until about 1369, and "great walls of buildings" were still visible to Leland in 1542 (Leland's Itinerary I, p.23).



395. R. Litt. Cl. II, p.172. The Worcester chronicler (Annales Monastici IV, p.413), records that William was sent into Palestine for 6 years. He did not go, and the story may be entirely false. But six years after Bytham Holderness with its liberties was confirmed to William de Forz, and there may be some connection.
396. R. Litt. Cl. I, p.458.
397. R. Litt. Cl. I, p.572; they were later returned.
398. The list of the malcontents, the earl of Chester, the count of Aumale, the constable of Chester, Fawkes de Breauté, Robert de Vieux Pont, Brian de l'Isle, Peter de Maulay, Philip Mark, Ingelard de Athie, William de Cantiloupe and William his son, is a list of all the malcontents of the last few years, including many Poitevins and all the foreign castellans: Wendover IV, pp.92-3, 276-7; F.M. Powicke, Henry III and the Lord Edward, I, pp.58-9.
399. Annales Monastici III, p.87.
400. Shirley, Royal Letters I, p.547; Cal. of Papal Registers I, p.112.
401. Stubbs, Select Charters, p. 345.
402. R. Litt. Cl. II, p.11.
403. R. Litt. Cl. II, p.172.
404. Ibid, p.172.
405. Pat. R. 1225-32, p.161.
406. Davies, J. Conway, "The memoranda rolls of the exchequer to 1307", Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, p.142.
407. F.M. Powicke, Henry III and the Lord Edward, I, p.183.
408. Wendover III, 1.7; Flores Hist. II, p.200.
409. Close R. 1227-31, p.561.
410. Close R. 1231-34, pp.386,389.  
No note 411.
412. CRR XV, No.1787.
413. Close R. 1234-37, p.542.
414. See below, p.69.
415. CM II, p.106.
416. Paris, Chron. Major IV, p.174; Hist. Ang. II, p.446. Paris gives the names of some of the count's companions.

417. BL Harl. Ch. 50 D 39. For the charters of William de Forz II, see below, Appendix A. William's seal is illustrated as plate No.8.
418. See below, p.187.
419. Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.236d; CM I, p.362. A man of the same name was steward of Peterborough abbey, Memorandum R. 10 John pp. 49,59.
420. R. Litt. Cl. I, p.347.
421. R. Litt. Cl. I, pp.322,323,421.
422. R. Litt. Cl. II, p.172. The phrase is "between us and our barons".
423. See below, pp. 119-27.
424. R. Litt. Cl. I, p.254.
425. R. Litt. Cl. I, p.462.
426. In April: R. Litt. Cl. I, p.475.
427. R. Litt. Cl. II, p.96.
428. Memorandum R. 11 Henry III, p.38.
429. The early cases are in the published CRR. In the Yorkshire assize rolls for 1230-1 and 1231 the count nearly always won his cases.
430. Pat. R. 1216-25, p.13; R. Litt. Pat. I, p.187 (June 1216).
431. Anderson, Early Sources of Scottish History, p.492.
432. Stones, Anglo-Scottish Documents, p.25.
433. The joint founders of Balliol College, Oxford, and parents of the king of Scotland. Devorguilla founded Sweetheart abbey in memory of her husband.
434. Paris, Chron. Major III, pp.364-5.
435. Paris, Chron. Major IV, p.563. There is no record of the count and countess dealing with Galloway; however Thomas de Coleville, presumably a member of the Castle Bytham family, but known as Thomas de Coleville the Scot, gave the abbey of Vaudey (founded by the Aumales) the land of "Keresban" in Galloway, which was subsequently given to Melrose abbey, because the monks of Vaudey were troubled with the "lack of discipline and treachery of the barbaric natives". This was in the first quarter of the 13th century. Melrose Charty. I, Nos.192-5; Cal. Docs. Scotland I, p.141. Christiana's other sister was Helen, wife of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester.
436. The other co-heiresses were Devorguilla, Christiana's younger sister; the three younger sisters of Earl John (i.e. Christiana's aunts) who were Isobel, married to Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale; Ada, married to Henry de Hastings, and Maud, died unmarried. Brown, "The end of the Norman earldom of Chester", EHR XXXV (1920), pp. 26-54. Presumably the 3rd daughter of Alan of Galloway was dead by 1237.

437. In September and October 1237; Close R. 1234-37, pp.498,507.
438. Brown, "The end of the Norman earldom of Chester", EHR XXXV (1920), pp.26-54.  
The main source of information for the case is Bracton's Note Book.
439. Depending on the division, whether by simple division between the number of parties involved, or by equal shares to the three sisters of John, and then divided between Christiana and her sister.
440. Brown, "The end of the Norman earldom of Chester", EHR XXXV (1920), pp.26-54.
441. PR 26 Henry III, p.119; Cal. Cl. R. 1237-42, pp.335,340.
442. William le Gros held Driffeld from 1155 to the end of his life. After his death it reverted to the Crown, but was returned to William de Forz II in August 1215 and again in December 1217 (R. Litt. Pat. p.154; R. Litt. Cl. I, p.347). Afterwards in 1230-1 William claimed that King John had given him Driffeld as his right (Memorandum R. 14 Henry III, p.38). The manor is said to have formed part of the dower of Joan, daughter of King John, when she was betrothed to Alexander II at York in 1220; but on 16 May 1221 it was returned to William de Forz (R. Litt. Cl. I, p.458). In 1224 it was still part of the king's demesne (CRR XI, No.2197); in 1236, sixteen years after her marriage, Henry III granted his sister Joan, queen of Scots, the manor of Driffeld (Cal. Ch. R. I, p.222). Joan died without an heir in 1238 and Driffeld came back to the Crown. It was in the hands of a custodian in 1241: Cal. Cl. R. 1237-42, p.340.
443. Cal. Ch. R. I, p.263.
444. Cal. Pat. R. 1232-47, p.258; Rot. Fin. I, p.353.
445. Rot. Fin. I, p.353.
446. Cal. Pat. R. 1232-47, p.258.
447. Cal. Pat. R. 1232-47, p.295. He witnessed an inspeximus at Bordeaux on 6 September 1242; Cal. Pat. R. 1232-47, p.322.
448. See below, p. 440.
449. PRO, Fine R. 30 Henry III, m.5.
450. Annales Monastici I, pp.104,137. For the lands of Isabella, see EYC VII, p.22.
451. Close R. 1247-51, p.562.
452. Stones, Anglo-Scottish Documents, p.452.
453. Cal. Pat. R. 1247-58, pp.421,424,441.
454. Cal. Pat. R. 1247-58, p.445; the count was sheriff for Cumberland in 1255 and 1259. One of his officials, Remy de Pocklington, accounted at Michaelmas 1255, see below, Appendix B.

- 455. Close R. 1251-53, p.431.
- 456. Cal. Pat. R. 1247-58, p.174.
- 457. Close R. 1251-53, p.451.
- 458. Close R. 1256-59, p.139.
- 459. See below, p. 440.
- 460. Stubbs, Select Charters, p.380; Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform 1258 - 62, pp.84-5.
- 461. Cal. Pat. R. 1247-58, p.640.
- 462. F.M. Powicke, Henry III and the Lord Edward, I, p.398; HMC Middleton I, p.67.
- 463. Close R. 1256-59, p.469; Treaty Rolls I, p.37.
- 464. Cal. Pat. R. 1258-66, p. 118
- 465. Flores Hist. II, p.450. Date of 23 May from the proof of age of his daughter Aveline, Cal. I.P.M. II, No.44
- 466. CM II, p.106.
- 467. St Bees Reg. p.495. All except Teron are mentioned in John de Eston's claim (see below, pp.73-4 ). One Stephen, son of the count, occurs in Holderness accounts, being tutored at home, at Oxford, and at school in Hedon (Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire estates", YAJ XXXI (1934), p.392). At least two of the count's sons, William and Thomas, were alive in 1260 (Denholm-Young, art. cit., p.390). William was buried in the church of Friars Preachers at Oxford and Avise was buried at Meaux: Complete Peerage I, p.356 n. c and CM I p.92: II p.106.
- 468. CM II, pp.6,76,90.
- 469. CM II, p.29.
- 470. CM II, p.106. For the deeds of William de Forz III, see below, Appendix A. His seal is reproduced as plate No.9.
- 471. PRO, Assize R. 1045, m.19. The Dunstable annalist has a story that in 1246 a great quarrel between the abbot of Fountains and the count was ended, by the grace of the count. It had begun when the abbot's men assaulted the count and his men and ill-treated them. This story is not mentioned in the Memorials of Fountains and may not be true. Annales Monastici III, p.170.



472. Rot. Fin. II, p.327.
473. Flores Hist. II, p.450, records that the estates and heir were granted to the earl of Gloucester, but there is no confirmation of this in the archives: Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire estates", YAJ XXXI (1934), p.390.
474. Cal. Pat. R. 1258-66, p.161.
475. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire estates", YAJ XXXI (1934), p.415.
476. On 8 or 9 April, 1269, Complete Peerage I, p.356 n.c.
477. Her proof of age is Cal. I.p.m. II, No.44. She was declared of age in February, Close R. 1272-79, p.7.
478. Close R. 1272-79, p.7.
479. Close R. 1288-96, p.148; Cal. Fine R. 1272-1307, pp.237,243.
480. Her will was proved 5 November 1293, Romeyn's Reg. I, p.230.
481. For the claim to the Aumale lands, see EYC VII pp.23-7, and Beanlands, "The claim of John de Eston", Thoresby Miscellanea XXIV, pp.227-44. Canon Beanlands quoted the opinion that when an inheritance was to be divided among a number of co-heiresses, if one of them was unmarried, the king could give her with all the lands of the inheritance in marriage, and the other co-heiresses could be entirely excluded. This rule must be a pre-requisite of the Eston claim, or else he could never explain why his reputed female ancestor did not hold the lands of the honour after partition on the death of le Gros.
482. The heirs of Amabel, wife of Reginald de Lucy, only claimed Skipton and Cockermouth.
483. Holderness was given to the following:
- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| by Edward II     | Piers Gaveston, and kept by his widow after his death  |
| by Edward III    | William de la Pole<br>Isabel the king's daughter, d.s.p.   |
| by Richard II    | Queen Anne<br>Thomas duke of Gloucester, d.s.p.<br>Edward duke of York, d.s.p.   |
| by Henry IV      | Thomas duke of Clarence, d.s.p.  |
| by Henry VI      | Anne countess of Stafford<br>Humphrey duke of Buckingham   |
| by Richard III   | Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland  |
| by Henry VII     | Edward duke of Buckingham  |
| by Philip & Mary | Henry earl of Westmorland, who regranted Holderness to the Constables, who still hold the seignory in the 1970s as Chichester-Constable. |

1. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.65.
2. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates" and Seignorial Administration.
3. See below, Appendix A.
4. The king's household of c.1136 is recorded in the Constitutio Domus Regis, printed by Johnson, Dialogus de Scaccario, pp.128-135.
5. This was not always the case in other honours. The constables of Richmond, although the office was hereditary, still retained powers and duties (EYC IV,V).
6. See below, pp. 106-7.
7. See below, pp. 80-6.
8. See below, Appendix A.
9. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.66.
10. See below, pp. 88 -94.
11. Gallia Christiana XI, p.19, No.xv.
12. EYC III, Nos.1326,1318.
13. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I No.2.
14. For the complete list of the known charters of Stephen, see below, appendix A. On the usual form of address see F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, pp.88-9.
15. EYC III, No.1318.
16. One list of witnesses ends "et aliis baronibus meis multis", EYC III, No.1318.
17. Archives de France S 1410, No.20, printed by Round, Calendar of Documents relating to France, No.1264; EYC III, No.1318; Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I Nos. 2 and 5, with some other texts for which see below, appendix A; for the family relationships see Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I No.3.
18. Ritchie, The Normans in Scotland, p.312 n.2.
19. Manasser Biset was with Henry II as early as 1149, was steward to the king c.1155-1166, and died 1177 leaving a son Henry who came of age in 1187. Sanders, Baronies, p.5; Bous sard, Le Gouvernement d' Henri II Plantegenêt, pp 324,365.
20. See below, pp. 119-27.
21. For example, in Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I No.5.
22. EYC III, No.1301.
23. EYC III, No.1301.
24. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I, No.2.
25. For Ingelram vicecomes of Aumale, see below, appendix B. The differences and similarities between the vicecomes of Normandy and the sheriff of England are described by Douglas, William the Conqueror, pp 296-9.

26. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I, No.1.
27. EYC III, No.1304
28. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I No.2; Johnson, Dialogus de Scaccario, p.xxv.
29. See below, appendix B , for biographical details of these men.
30. CM I, pp.303-4.
31. PR 2 Richard, p.86.
32. HUL, DDCC/99/1.
33. Johnson, Dialogus de Scaccario, pp.116-7; Downer, Leges Henrici Primi, p.151.
34. Oschinsky, Walter of Henley, pp.391,409, No.iii of the Rules.
35. Oschinsky, Walter of Henley, p.93.
36. Oschinsky, Walter of Henley, pp.94,266-7.
37. Oschinsky, Walter of Henley, pp.75-82.
38. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster I.
39. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration.
40. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster I, pp.111-3.
41. The details of the Holderness stewards are all drawn from the pages below, appendix B , on the individual stewards. The footnote references are not repeated here.
42. Tout, Chapters in Medieval Administrative History I, p.205.
43. EYC VII, Nos.33,34,45.
44. EYC VII, No.35.
45. Memoranda Roll 10 John, p.24.
46. EYC III, No.1372.
47. Barraclough, "The earldom and county palatine of Chester", Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, CIII (1953), pp.23-57.
48. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, pp.67-8; followed by Labarge, Baronial Household, p.56.
49. EYC VII, p.292.
50. Cockermouth was attached to the Skipton fee. The series of seneschals of Cockermouth and Copeland can be seen in the charters to St Bees (St Bees Register).
51. Rot.Litt.Cl. I, p.175; Rot. Litt. Pat. I, p.122.
52. Fulk de Oyry, Philip de Langbar, Alan de Hyde. Future sheriffs also acted as attorneys: Stephen Passemer, William Anglicus, Henry Cheshunt.
53. The date comes from the beginning of the series of curia regis rolls. No Aumale attorneys are recorded earlier than 1200.
54. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, pp.69-70.
55. Labarge, Baronial Household, pp.60-2.

56. CM I, p.297.
57. PRO, Assize R. 1046, mm.46d,58,61d,63.
58. HUL, DDCC/45/1.
59. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.71 and n.
60. See below, p. 98.
61. PR 28 Henry II, p.46.
62. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, pp.73-4.
63. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730. The lease is sewn to the survey.
64. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, pp.75-6.
65. See below, pp. 142-53.
66. Guisborough Charty II, p.320.
67. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, pp.14-15; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, p.543; Book of Fees I, p.247. In 1269-70 an agreement made in the full county court of York was witnessed by the sheriff of York, two knights and five stewards: BL Add. MS 26736, f.89.
68. Close R. 1227-1231, p.10.
69. Close R. 1227-1231, p.400.
70. EYC III, No.1399.
71. See below, appendix B , for biographical details of these men.
72. EYC III, No.1304.
73. EYC III, No.1379.
74. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.66.
75. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.48: William de Walcote occurs several times as sheriff of Holderness c.1286, HUL. DDCC/43/18; BL, Lansd. MS 424, f.112d; Bridlington Charty, p.302; Bodleian Dods. MS 94, f.95d.
76. See below, pp. 128-41.
77. Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.264. Dates from William de Forz III (1241-1260) and the death of Henry le Moigne (1251).
78. BL Add. MS 26736, f.66d.
79. EYC III, No.1376.
80. Stephen Passemer, William Anglicus and Henry de Cheshunt were all attorneys for the counts; for these men see below, Appendix B.
81. Simon de Preston was bailiff of the wapentake: William Anglicus and Henry de Cheshunt were constables of Skipton.
82. Cal. Ch. R. II, p.381; dates from William de Forz III (1241-1260) and the death of Henry le Moigne (1251).
83. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, pp.47-9, and PRO Coram Rege Writ file 50 H III K.B. 136/1/4.



84. For the sheriffs after 1260, see Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, pp.46-52.
85. The clearest evidence for this is in Cal. Ch. R. II, p.381, a charter of Count William de Forz III which is witnessed by both the sheriff of Holderness and the bailiff of the wapentake. For the bailiff see below, pp. 97-101.
86. See Morris, The Medieval English Sheriff, p.108. Morris unfortunately writes very little about the private sheriffs. References to the sheriffs of Earl Warenne and Richmondshire can be found in EYC IV-V (Richmond) and EYC VIII (Warenne), and in 'Durham in Lapsley, The County Palatine of Durham.
87. Johnson, Dialogus de Scaccario; Woodbine, Glanville; Hall, Glanville; Maitland, Bracton's Note Book; Woodbine, Bracton, De Legibus.
88. EYC III, No.1307.
89. Hewlett's Report, p.12: PRO, Rentals and Surveys No.730, small membrane sewn to the roll.
90. PRO, Min.Acc. 1076/7; in translation below as appendix C.
91. EYC III, No.1313.
92. Tait, Chartulary of Chester I, pp.xlv,48,69-71.
93. Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.15, also Rawl. B 455, f.184d. 272-82.
94. For the coroner, wapentake court and borough of Hedon see pp.106-7,142-53,/  
95. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", pp.412 n.1, 418; Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.50.
96. Johnson, Dialogus de Scaccario, p.65.
97. Tupling, "The Royal and Seignorial Bailiffs of Lancashire in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", Chetham Miscellanies VIII, pp.1 ff.
98. EYC III, No.1368. Hedon still retains numerous place-names with the element "sheriff" included: Sheriff Hall, Sheriff Highway, Sheriff Bridge, Sheriffgate etc. These names relate not to a county sheriff but to a baronial sheriff, an office which ceased to exist c.1293. Hedon had a hall of pleas by 1257 where the wapentake court was probably held (PRO, Assize R. 1109, m.26). In 1348, the year of the first detailed borough charter of Hedon, the steward and the king's bailiff were authorised to hold the wapentake court of Holderness in the hall of pleas in Hedon. Poulson, Holderness II, p.112.
99. HUL DDCC/43/6.
100. BL Add.MS 26736, f.82d.

101. See p. 97.
102. EYC IV, p.125.
103. Hewlett's Report, p.12; PRO, Rentals and Surveys No.730, additional membrane.
104. PRO, Coram Rege Writ file 50 H III K.B. 136/1/4.
105. YI I, p.34; also Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire 1218-19, No.1145.
106. This rebellion is unrecorded except in the Meaux chronicle. The date given in the chronicle has been questioned by Denholm-Young, in "Yorkshire Estates", p.402 n.1: "the refusal of the men of the wapentake to serve in Scotland, which really occurred, perhaps, early in Edward III's reign". The date of the incident is not important in this context: but unless the usually accurate chronicler has indulged in a great deal of falsification, it must be before 1293 because of the mention of the sheriff.
107. CM II, p.107.
108. See pp. 202-4.
109. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, pp.188-9.
110. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, pp.73-4. It must have been as sheriff that de Cheshunt held these arms, not as constable of Skipton, for he had ceased to be constable about 17 years before his death.
111. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.418.
112. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.410 n.2, from PRO Min.Acc. 1078/7 (not, as Denholm-Young, 1078/6 and not 34s.).
113. For this duty falling to the sheriff, see William Anglicus, pp.334-5.
114. EYC VIII, No.17.
115. See pp. 134-42.
116. PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6; Assize R. 1047, mm.12,12d.etc.
117. Ault, Private Jurisdiction in England, pp.83-125.
118. Quo Warranto, p.193.
119. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.47 n.4.
120. Brid. Charty, p.321.
121. EYC VII, No.41.
122. Cal. Fine R. I, p.492.
123. See below, appendix C for the sheriff's account.
124. YI I, p.266.
125. CM II, pp.25-6.
126. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.48 n.3. No reference is given for this statement: Poulson, Holderness II, p.108, refers to Hildyard.

127. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, pp.48-9, from PRO Assize R. 1050, m.9.
128. For William de Walcote see note 75 above.
129. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.400 n.4 from PRO Min.Acc. 1078/18, gives the first mention of the sheriff's tourn. Details of the tourn in the 19th century are given by Poulson, Holderness I, pp.156-7.
130. See below, pp. 101-4.
131. CRR VII, pp.74, 174.
132. Bodleian Rawl. MS B 455, f.184d.
133. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.405,
134. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.408, from PRO Rentals and Surveys No.730.
135. YI I, p.266.
136. YI I, p.75.
137. See below appendix B for biographical details of these men.
138. Cal. Ch. R. II, p.381; dates from the steward Henry le Moigne, who was dead by 1251.
139. See Appendix B.
140. PRO Min.Acc. 1078/7.
141. PRO Min. Acc. 1078/8.
142. See below, p.106.
143. PRO Assize R. 1109, mm.1d,27.
144. Mr Denholm-Young wrote in 1934 that "the demesne manors under /Countess/ Isabella were administered by the sheriff or bailiff of Holderness who was at all times distinct from the bailiff of the wapentake court and from the bailiff of the serjeanty alias the serjeant alias the coroner"; "Yorkshire Estates", p.405. No such statement appears in his (1937) Seignorial Administration, and he seems less certain as to the different posts in the later work.
145. Hunnisett, "The origin of the office of coroner", TRHS VIII (5th ser.) (1958), pp.92-5.
146. PR 1 Richard, p.86.
147. Book of Fees I, p.247. This and similar entries in the Book of Fees are clearly the civil plea returns to the eyre of 1218-19, thought by Lady Stenton in her edition for the Selden Society of Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire to be lost. See forthcoming article in the YAJ for 1976 by B.A. English.

148. YI II, pp.119-20.
149. YI II, pp.119-20; Rot. Hund. I, p.133b. YI I, p.83. The payments in PRO Min. Acc 1078/8, m.6, for 1263-6 are £5, £8, and £10.
150. YI II, pp.119-20.
151. This is implied by the evidence for Holderness, and is characteristic of wapentake bailiffs: Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, pp.137, 146-7.
152. PRO Min. Acc. 1073/9, m.4.
153. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.147, from PRO Min. Acc. 1078/8, m.6. Denholm-Young calls this the coroner's oath, because he equates the bailiff of the wapentake with the coroner, but the form is more appropriate to the bailiff than to the coroner, and in 1266 Thomas de Lelley was not coroner but bailiff. Note the difference between this oath and the sheriff's oath summarised above, pp. 98-90.
154. For example PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6
155. Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-9, p.257.
156. Rolls of Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire 1218-19, No.89.
157. Hewlett's Report, p.8; Close R. 1227-31, pp.13,27,89.
158. PRO, Assize R. 1043, m.6.
159. PRO, Assize R. 1043, m.6.
160. Yorks. Assize Rolls, p.74
161. Yorks. Assize Rolls, p.115
162. Yorks. Fines 1232-45, p.110.
163. Rot. Hund. I, p.133b; Kimball, Serjeanty Tenure in Medieval England, p.88.
164. Kimball, Serjeanty Tenure in Medieval England, p.88
165. Tupling, "The Royal and Seignorial Bailiffs of Lancashire in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", Chetham Miscellanies VIII, p.12.
166. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, pp.137, 146-7 and map.
167. For the list of bailiffs, see below Appendix B.
168. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, pp.6-7.
169. Holt, "The Barons and the Great Charter", EHR LXX (1955), p.22.
170. See pp. 142-3.
171. The divisions of c.1260 are in Kirkby's Quest, pp.371-7; Poulson, Holderness I, pp. 153-5 The c.1260 inquest adds six vills from Dickering wapentake to Mois division: Boynton, Caythorpe, Reighton, Kelk, Wilsthorpe and Sewerby (Kirkby's Quest, p.377). By the 19th century Burton Constable and its surrounding villages had been moved from Tunstall to Helpston. These are the principal alterations in six hundred years.



172. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.418.
173. PRO Coram Rege Writ file 50 H III K.B. 136/1/4. He may have been related to Robert Crepping, custodian of Drifffield and many other royal estates in the 1230s and 1240s, and sheriff of Yorkshire in 1251.
174. For a map of the three hundreds see Poulson, Holderness II, p.1, and VCH Yorkshire II, p.140.
175. PRO K.R.M.R. 73, m.21d.
176. Kirkby's Quest, p.375.
177. CRR XI, No.2303.
178. PR 14 Henry III, p.282.
179. CRR XV, No.1022E.
180. YI I, p.78; better copy in PRO Rentals and Surveys 730.
181. PRO K.R.M.R. 73, m.21d. The money he kept was paid him by William de Walcote, last sheriff of Holderness, although Walcote's office does not seem to have any relevance in the case.
182. Cal. of Inquisitions post mortem VIII, No.500.
183. Cal. of Inquisitions post mortem IX, No.453.
184. Poulson, Holderness I, p.155, date from Holderness II, p.356n.
185. See p. 142. Waxholme was by the 18th century a detached piece of the bailiwick, being south of the stream which served as a boundary between the south and middle hundreds, and surrounded by land in Moiss bailiwick: a possible explanation is that between c.1260 and c.1780 the stream had altered course.
186. EYC III, No.1317. The text reads s'gāt which is wrongly expanded by Farrer as sagit/tario7. Farrer dates the charter c.1200-1230, but gives no reasons. Ralph the Master of St Sepulchre of Hedon, the grantor of the charter, occurs in 1208 and 1209 (Yorks. Fines John, pp.119,155).
187. PR 14 Henry III, p.282.
188. CM II, p.23.
189. Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.264, dates from the steward, Henry le Moigne.
190. Kirkby's Quest, p. 374. This feodary is printed from a 16th-century copy and it is possible that "Richard" is an error, for there are many errors in the text. Another 16th-century copy is HUL DDCC/112/111, but is incomplete. It also gives Richard as the bailiff.

191. Poulson, Holderness I, p.155; Holderness II, p.256n. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.419, introduces a family of Tunstalls from the North Riding; but these came from the Richmondshire Tunstall and are a separate family, only marrying into the Holderness family of Constable in the 18th century.
192. Boyle, Hedon, p.40.
193. PRO Assize R. 1046, m.15.
194. Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654.
195. Cal. of Inquisitions post mortem IX, Nos.79,616.
196. YI I, p.79.
197. Poulson, Holderness I, p.155.
198. Brid. Charty, pp.31,170,306,326.
199. Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.264; dates from the sheriff Henry le Moigne.
200. YI I, p.82; better copy in PRO Rentals and Surveys 730.
201. Brid. Charty, p.302, dates from witness William de Walcote, sheriff of Holderness, who occurs c.1286.
202. Cal. of Inquisitions post mortem VII, No.473.
203. Poulson, Holderness I, p.155.
204. See appendix B for biographical notes on these men.
205. PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6.
206. PRO Assize R. 1109, m.1d.
207. Typling, "The Royal and Seignorial Bailiffs of Lancashire in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", Chetham Miscellanies VIII, pp.40-1.
208. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.131.
209. Hunnisett, The Medieval Coroner, pp.138-9.
210. Gross, Select Coroners' Rolls; Lane Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, pp 390-1, n.2; Hunnisett, The Medieval Coroner; Hunnisett, "The origin of the office of Coroner", TRHS VIII (5th series) (1958), pp.85-104; Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, pp.128-31; Stewart Brown, Sergeants of the Peace.
211. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, pp.128-9.
212. PR 1 Richard, p.86.
213. Yorks. Assize R. p.25.
214. Hunnisett, The Medieval Coroner, p.1.
215. Hunnisett, The Medieval Coroner, p.145. For the part of the profits that went to the count of Aumale, see pp. 152-3.
216. The office of coroner has been illuminated by the work of R.F. Hunnisett.
217. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.129.
218. PRO Assize R. 1109, m.27.

219. PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.130.
220. PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6.
221. PRO Assize R. 1109, mm.26,27.
222. PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6.
223. See below appendix B for biographical notes on these men.
224. Tait, Chester Chartulary I, pp.xlv,xlvi. In Chester between 1136 and 1146 there is a reference to the earl's chamber as a place of receipt for a horse, given in return for a confirmation of a grant: Barraclough, "Chester Charters", A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton, p.31. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.13.
225. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, pp.15-19, distinguishes between the principal chamberlain who was also steward of the household and the other lesser chamberlain. This distinction does not appear in the period before 1260.
226. Bodleian, Dods. MS 100, f.85, a defective text which gives Norman or Norwan.
227. EYC III, No.1397. Farrer refers to Morwan as the wheelwright. The grant to Thornton is mentioned in a royal confirmation, EYC III, No.1312.
228. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I No. 1; also Archaeologia XXVI, p.358.
229. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I No.1; also Archaeologia XXVI, p.358.
230. Semichon, Aumale I, facing p.324. All three Christian names may be forms of the same name.
231. EYC III, No.1398.
232. EYC III, No.1398.
233. Kal.Inv. Exch. I, p.75.
234. Kal. Inv. Exch. I, p.75.
235. Kal. Inv. Exch. I, p.55.
236. Kal. Inv. Exch. I, p.77.
237. For example, PRO Min. Acc. 1118/16 "in payment made to John de Nuthill by writ of the countess £10".
238. EYC III, No.1311. Farrer believed this might have been Holme on the Wolds: but there is a hill near Paull, Boreas Hill, which might provide the description. William de Mandeville is not known to have had land in Holme on the Wolds, and the lands are described in the charter as being 48 carucates to a knight's fee, which was usual in Holderness but rare elsewhere.
239. Kirkby's Quest, p.376; HUL DDCC/112/111: a William de Camera and Sapientia his wife were involved in law suits over Ryhill in 1268,

- 239 cont'd PRO Assize R. 1050, m.12.
240. Poulson, Holderness II, pp.492-3.
241. Poulson, Holderness I, p.156, and see p.
242. See Appendix B.
243. Gregory and Robert, see below, Appendix B.
244. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.391.
245. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.78.
246. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I No.3; Gallia Christiana XI, p.20.
247. Clay, "Early generations of Constable of Halsham", YAJ XL (1960), pp.198-202.
248. Delisle, Actes de Henri II, I, No.176.
249. Delisle, Actes de Henri II, II, p.210.
250. Clay, "Early generations of Constable of Halsham", YAJ XL (1960), pp. 198-99.
251. Charters witnessed:  
     c.1147-68 EYC III, No.1340 at Burstwick.  
     c.1150-76 EYC III, No.1399 at Aumale, with his brothers William & Richard.  
     c.1147-68 EYC III, No.1339, a charter of Ralph de Goxhill to Bridlington priory.
252. See Appendix B.
253. See p. 127.
254. Clay, "Early generations of Constable of Halsham", YAJ XL (1960), pp 198-202; Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, p.22.
255. I.p.m. of Simon Constable in Poulson, Holderness II, pp.225-6.
256. Leeds, YAS MD 59(3); there is also a rental of Burton Constable in 1307 in the same archives.
257. BL Add. MS 26736, f.71, and HUL DDCC/45/1 (date from witness Isaac).
258. BL Add. MS 26736, f.70d and HUL DDCC/135/1.
259. For an unconfused account, see Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, pp.21-2.
260. The constables of Skipton have been listed by Clay, EYC VII, pp.288-93, to the end of the 13th century.
261. EYC VII, p.22.
262. EYC VII, pp.28-9.
263. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.397.
264. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.397 and Seignorial Administration, p.39.



265. EYC VII, pp.28-9.
266. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.35.
267. HMC Hastings I, pp.164-5; date corrected by Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, p.59, and Clay, "The Family of Meaux", YAJ XLIII (1971), p.99.
268. Charters witnessed:  
Appendix A, Nos. 21, 22, 26, 33, 34, 39, 40, 41, 42. Nos 39 and 41 are in company with Ralph and William his sons.
269. HMC Portland II, p.3. The grant concerns Holderness land at Sigglesthorpe, and although the first four witnesses are from Beverley minster, the majority of the remaining witnesses are known Holderness names, such as Robert de Ros, Saer de Sutton, Alan de Verli, Richard de Wassand, which makes it a reasonable assumption that the Stephen the Butler was the Holderness butler and not from another fee.
270. For Hilston church see Yorks. Fines 1246-1272, p.88.
271. Ralph witnessed:  
Appendix A, Nos. 21, 25, 35, 39, 41. Nos. 21, 39 and 41 also were witnessed by his father and brother William.  
William witnessed:  
Appendix A, Nos. 9, 21, 39, 41.
272. EYC III, No.1308.
273. CM I, p.354.
274. CM I, pp.355, 359-60.
275. CM I, p.356.
276. Bodleian Dods. MS 95, f.108d.
277. BL Cotton MS Otho C viii, f.77.
278. EYC III, No.1306; Guisborough Charty II, p.212.
279. His daughters were Beatrice who married Geoffrey de Fribois, Matilda who married William de Routh and Hawisa who married Alan Surdeval. There was also a stepson Robert de Roppesley (who may have been steward to the count, see p.328) and a daughter Avise who became a nun at Nunkeeling (BL Cotton MS Otho C viii, ff.76d, 77). There is an account of the family in the Meaux chronicle. Geoffrey de Fribois was dead by 1240 when his widow was quit by the count of Aumale of suit at the wapentake court demanded of her (Yorks. Fines 1232-46, p.82).
280. Norman witnesses 1153-1162, EYC III, No.1368, a charter of John Treasurer of York and archdeacon of the East Riding, and two charters of the count of Aumale, YAS MS 542, f.2 (two deeds).

281. EYC III, No.1381.
282. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.66, and Tait, Chester Chartulary, pp.xlvii, xlviii.
283. Charters witnessed:  
Appendix A, Nos. 14,19,39,40,41,47,48.
284. EYC III, No.1400.
285. EYC III, No.1408.
286. CM I, p.161.
287. St Bees Reg. No.31.
288. St Bees Reg. No.55.
289. St Bees Reg. Nos. 27,390,455 and 55 note: Holme Cultram Reg. pp.25,26.
290. St Bees Reg. No.382.
291. St Bees Reg. Appendix 1, pp.517-8.
292. CM I, p.360.
293. St Bees Reg. No.52.
294. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, pp.69-70.
295. Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.236.
296. CM II, pp.173,220.
297. See pp.94-5. The warreners received robes from the countess in the 1260s, see below, appendix C.
298. EYC III, No.1320: between 1150 and 1160.
299. EYC III, No.1405 "faciendo mihi servitium de falconibus meis, scilicet ipse et secundus portator cum tribus equis erunt in curia mea ad livrei suum".
300. EYC III, No.1406.
301. Rot. Hund. I, p.133; PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6d.
302. Poulson, Holderness II, p.481.
303. Hawisa's ladies witness two of her charters: HMC Rutland IV, p.6 (dated Easter 1181) and Book of Seals No.444 (1212-1214). For Isabella's see Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.392.
304. Leeds, YAS MS 321, unnumbered pages, under Preston.
305. For William Cade see Jenkinson and Stead, "William Cade, a financier of the 12th century", EHR XXVIII (1913), pp.209ff, 731ff.; for Adam de Stratton, Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, pp.77-85.
306. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I Nos. 2 and 3; Gallia Christiana XI, p.20.
307. Delisle, Actes de Henri II, II, p.211; Rot. Norm. I, p.68.

308. CRR XIV, No.169; Major, "Conan son of Ellis", Architectural and Archaeological Associated Societies Reports XLII pt 1, p.4 and nn.; Lincs. Record Office, MCD 196 (notes by Miss Major on the D'Oyry family) quoting Crowland abbey cartulary ff.77,106.
309. CRR XIV, No.169; Three Rolls of the King's Court, pp.7,10,28 etc.
310. Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-9, No.139; Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste (IRS), p.25. In 1185 the daughter of Waleran was in the king's gift aged 20: Rot. de Dom. p.45. For connections with the Lincolnshire family of Conan son of Ellis see Major, "Conan son of Ellis", Architectural and Archaeological Associated Societies Reports XLII pt 1, esp. pp4,6.
311. CRR XIV, No.169; Cheney, Hubert Walter, p.23.
312. PR 2 Richard, p.89; Three Rolls of the King's Court, pp.10,14,27 etc.
313. William de Holbeach also occurs in Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-9, Nos. 1247, 1289, 1293; Memoranda Roll 10 John, p.81 etc. For his date of death see Rot. Fin. I, p.79. For his connection with the family of Conan son of Ellis, see Major, "Conan son of Ellis", Architectural and Archaeological Associated Societies Reports XLII pt 1, p.1 ff.
314. Memoranda Roll 10 John, p.108; Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.295.
315. Rot. Cur. Reg. II, pp.58,188,190; in 1221 he brought a case of novel disseisin against the abbot of Combermere over lands in Child's Ercall, Shropshire (Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire 1221-1222, Nos. 990, 1028).
316. Rot. Cur. Reg. I, p.274; the document by which Count Baldwin pledged himself for the king is in Paris, Archives de France, J 628 No.27. See appendix A below, no. 82 and plates 6, 20.
317. Rot. Cur. Reg. I, pp.357,361.
318. BL Add. MS 26736, f.77d.
319. BL Add. MS 26736, f.77d; other deeds relating to this transaction are on ff.79, 81d.
320. BL Add. MS 26736, f.78.
321. BL Add. MS 26736, f.77. Blosseville was part of the comté of Aumale, and in 1215 Hawisa de Blosseville also granted a third of her land of Blosseville to the Knight Templars: Paris, Archives de France, S 5205 No.22.
322. Rot. Litt. Pat. I, p.41.
323. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.80.
324. Rot. Chart. p.134, confirmed in 1227, Cal. Ch. R. I, p.28.
325. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.102 and n.
326. Book of Fees I, p.193.
327. Rot. Hund. I, p.382.
328. PR 6 John, p. 78 and Rot. Obl. et Fin. p.199.
329. Rot. de Lib. pp.214,224.

# 330. CHARTERS WITNESSED BY FULK D' OYRY

<u>Grantor of charter</u>	<u>Extremes of date</u>	<u>Order in list of witnesses</u>	<u>References</u>
Baldwin de Béthune	1195-1201	9th	<u>EYC VII, No. 35.</u>
Baldwin de Béthune	1195-1212	2nd	BL Add. MS 26736, f. 70d
Hawisa countess of Aumale	c. 1197-1214	1st	Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f. 232d; <u>Mon. Ang. V</u> , p. 38
William de Forz II	1214-1231 (10 charters)	1st, 2nd or 3rd	Bodleian, Rawl. B 455, f. 184; <u>Fountains</u> <u>Charity</u> , No. 70; <u>EYC VII</u> , No. 38; HUL DDCC/45/2
Geoffrey de Halsham	c. 1189-1231	2nd	BL Add. MS 26736, ff. 71, 74d; BL Harl. Ch.
Sutton family & Thornton abbey	c. 1189-1231	1st	50 D 39; Bodleian Dods. MS 7, ff. 15, 236, 236d
Henry Scule	c. 1189-1231	1st	BL Add. MS 26736, f. 76d
Stephen de Halsham	c. 1189-1231	1st	BL Add. MS 26736, f. 90
Thomas de Alost	c. 1190-1230	1st	BL Add. MS 26736, f. 76d
William del Fur	c. 1203-1230 (2 charters)	3rd	HUL DDCC/43/4
Marmaduke de Tweng & Wm Constable	c. 1227 (3 charters)	1st	HUL DDCC/40/1
			BL Add. MS 26736, f. 72d; <u>EYC III</u> , No. 1365
			BL Add. MS 26736, ff. 89, 89d, 90; HUL DDCC/55/1



331. CRR VI, p.277.
332. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, pp.136,144,154.
333. CRR XIII, Nos. 1523,1934.
334. HUL DDCC/135/1.
335. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, pp.133,141.
336. PR 16 John, p.95.
337. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.141 and PR 16 John, pp.95,155.
338. PR 16 John, p.152. Robert de Ros also occurs in the same context.
339. Rot. Litt. Pat. I, p.104.
340. Rot. Chart. p.201.
341. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.175; Rot. Litt. Pat. I, p.122. For Robert de Ros, tenant in Holderness and descendant of the earlier stewards of the counts of Aumale, see Holt, The Northerners, pp.24-6 etc.
342. Rot. Litt. Pat. I, p.108.
343. Rot. Chart. I, p.218 etc.; Rot. Litt. Cl. I, pp.246,263; Rot. Litt. Pat. I, pp.152,154.
344. Rot. Obl. et Fin. p.582; Rot. Litt. Cl. I, pp.488,266; Rot. Litt. Pat. I, pp.167-9, 174, 178.
345. Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p.481.
346. Rot. Obl. et Fin. p.593.
347. Rot. Litt. Pat. I, pp.169, 186.
348. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.288.
349. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.295.
350. Shirley, Royal Letters I, p.20.
351. CRR VIII, pp.30,163; Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Lincolnshire 1218-1219 and Worcestershire 1221, Nos. 439-42 etc., pp.1i-1v.
352. CRR VIII, p.385.
353. Major, "Conan son of Ellis", Architectural and Archaeological Associated Societies Reports, XLII pt 1.
354. BL Add. MS 26736, f.79; in 1219 he was at law with William Lascelles in a case of morte d'ancestor: Rolls of the justices in eyre for Yorkshire 1218-1219, No.1152.
355. BL Add. MS 26736, f.80d (2 charters).
356. BL Add. MS 26736, f.80; CRR XIII, No.939.
357. CRR IX, p.294.
358. PR 9 John, p.29.
359. Painter, Reign of King John, p.133; Rot. Litt. Cl. I, pp.84-5; Rot. Obl. p.393.
360. BL Add. MS 26736, ff.66,75: William de Holbeach, a witness, died 1222.

361. BL Add. Ch. 20559.
362. HUL DDCC/45/4.
363. CM I, p.424.
364. D.M. Stenton, English Justice, pp.148-211, describes the case at length.
365. CRR II, pp.40,43,45.
366. CRR II, pp.160,219,226.
367. Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-9, No.902; Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.20.
368. Rot. Obl. et Fin. pp.291,324; PR 7 John, p.211; for some account of draining of the marshes, see Holt, The Northerners, pp.58-9 and nn.; Major, "Conan son of Ellis", Architectural and Archaeological Associated Societies Reports, XLIII pt 1.
369. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.195.
370. CRR VII, pp.4,5,8,18,125,130,160,250,251 etc.
371. CRR VIII, p.167.
372. Rot. Fin. I, p.79; CRR XI, Nos.152,962.
373. Yorks. Fines 1218-1231, p.49; CRR X, p.314.
374. Cal. Ch. Rolls I, p.28; Rot. Litt. Cl. II, p.178.
375. CRR XIII, Nos. 1229,1478,1885; CRR XIV, No.169.
376. CRR XIII, Nos. 1923,1934. In 1226 he was involved in a lawsuit over a ditch in Wymering. Rot. Litt. Cl. II, p.148.
377. CRR XIV, No.1131. For the suit see p.119.
378. Memoranda Roll 114 Henry III, p.39.
379. See plate 12.
380. Yorks. Fines 1232-1245, p.76; Book of Fees II, p.1082.
381. Brid. Charty, pp.319-20; EYC III, No.1365; Final Concords Lincoln II, pp.7-8, 145-6; Boseville & Lindsay Collections, p.3 and elsewhere; the list is not comprehensive.
382. PRO Assize R. 1046, mm.46d,58,61d,63. It is possible that these lands were connected with the stewardship, as a kind of serjeanty property, but there is no hint of this in the pleading.
383. Magni Rotuli Scacc. Norm. II, p.ccxlvi.
384. Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-9, No.1373.
385. Rot. Obl. et Fin. pp.287,440; Pipe R. 10 John, p.14.
386. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.12.
387. Major, Lincoln Record Office, MCD 196 (note on the Oyry family); Farrer, Honors and Knights Fees II, p.204.
388. HUL DDCC/103/1 and 2.
389. BL Add. MS 26736, f.76d.
390. Lincs. Fines 1244-72 (IRS), pp.145-6.

1. Oxford English Dictionary, from PR 13 Henry II, p.107.
2. Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, pp.574-94; Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, pp.205ff; also Ault, Private Jurisdiction in England, p.1.
3. Holdsworth, History of English Law I, p.108.
4. The articles of the inquiry are printed in Latin and English by Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, pp.248-57.
5. Bracton's comments on liberties are in Thorne (ed.) Bracton, De Legibus II, pp.166-73.
6. The Lincolnshire surveys are in Book of Fees I, p.155 and II, p.1082.
7. Aveline died on 10 November 1274, and the earliest dated inquest before the Hundred Commissioners: was at Aylesbury on 18 November (Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.40).
8. Rot. Hund. I, pp.106-7, 133; Quo Warranto, pp.193-224, 442-3.
9. Of the many volumes of evidence relating to this case, three are in Beverley Public Library. Other volumes formerly in the East Riding County Record Office or County Library were moved to Hull University Library during the local government reorganisation of 1974.
10. VCH Yorks. East Riding, Wapentake of Dickering, p.2.
11. Other church lands, such as the monastic lands, were held from the count or the archbishop or the provost, and not direct from the king. It is doubtful whether the provost of Beverley considered himself a tenant in chief, for in many records the church's lands are treated as synonymous with the archbishop's lands: for instance, the liberties of Beverley minster were confirmed by successive kings, not to the provost direct but to the archbishop (charters in BYC I, Nos.87-110).
12. DB, f.382.
13. DB, f.298d.
14. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.138.
15. Malet was the most famous of the Conqueror's sheriffs, had held office under Edward the Confessor, but at Hastings was on the Norman side and was asked by William I to identify Harold's body on the battlefield. In 1068 he was sent to the north as sheriff of Yorkshire. In 1069 rebellion broke out in the north and York was captured and burnt. Malet was taken prisoner but was rescued later by William during the harrying of the North. He was finally killed in the fighting in the Fens: Gladwin, The Sheriff, pp.39-41. For claims to Malet's lands, see Finn, The Making and Limitations of the Yorkshire Domesday, pp.22-3.
16. DB, f.374.

17. The writs of Edward the Confessor and William I to Beverley have now disappeared, and the earliest of Beverley minster's surviving charters is that of Archbishop Thurstan, issued between 1115 and 1128 and kept among the Beverley borough archives in the Guildhall.
18. Close R. 1227-1231, p.13.
19. Douglas, William the Conqueror, pp.272-3, although Lapsley, County Palatine of Durham, p.27, shows that the great franchise of Durham was already in existence by the Conquest.
20. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. II, p.221; Chibnall, Ord. Vit. II p. 265.
21. The abbot claimed wreck at Hornsea by this warrant, that he had the manor of Hornsea from the gift of Count Odo who came with King William the Bastard, conqueror of England, and that count had wreck as pertaining to that manor. The jury agreed. Quo Warranto, p.201.
22. Painter, English Feudal Barony, p.111.
23. See pp. 163-4.
24. EYC III, No.1301.
25. This interpretation follows that of Painter, English Feudal Barony, p.110.
26. PR 31 Henry I, p.29. This is the conclusion from comparison with the next two entries in the same pipe rolls, that William owed 100 silver marks that he might not plead against his men for the land that his father held in demesne (p.29) and that Everard steward of William de Aumale renders account for 2 gold marks that he might no longer be steward to William (p.32). All the entries taken together suggest that William held some privileged position in the collection of royal fines, that he had recently come of age, and that in his minority the county sheriff had collected the money due for Holderness pleas.
27. Rot. Litt. Cl. II, p.172.
28. Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-1209, No. 1426.
29. Quo Warranto, p.211.
30. EYC III, No.1400; the term is used in a charter of Count William le Gros in enfeoffing a man with 1/6th of a knight's fee "ita libere sicut aliquis baronum meorum liberius tenet".
31. For the mint at Hedon, see p. 276. The phrase "king beyond the Humber" comes from Newburgh I, p.103.
32. Barraclough, "The Earldom and Palatinate of Chester", Trans. of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, CIII (1951), p.35. The same view was taken by Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, p.564; Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, p.283 and Lapsley, County Palatine of Durham, p.27.



33. Book of Fees I, p.247. Entries in the Book of Fees I, pp.246-9, supplement the surviving rolls of the Yorkshire eyre of 1218-1219 which were edited by D.M. Stenton for the Seldon Society in the volume called Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire 1218-19. See forthcoming article on the rolls of the eyre in YAJ by B.A. English (1976).
34. PR 9 John, p.70. In 1274 an inquisition post mortem records that the heirs of Brus paid 40 marks for the wapentake, YI I, p.143, and Holt, "The Barons and the Great Charter", EHR LXX (1955), pp.21-2. The farm of the county includes the profits of the hundred or wapentake courts: Johnson, Dialogus de Scaccario, p.85. See also Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.162.
35. Rot. Litt. Cl. II, p.172.
36. PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6; Inquisition post mortem of William de Forz III, in YI I, p.83; Rot. Hund. I, pp.106,133.
37. Rot. Litt. Cl. II, p.172.
38. Rot. Hund. I, p.133.
39. Cam, "Suitors and Scabini", Liberties and Communities in Medieval England, p.59; also Van Caenegem, Royal Writs in England from the Conqueror to Glanville, pp.23-6.
40. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.137.
41. Staincross and Osgoldcross, Rot. Hund. I, pp.111, 126, and PRO Assize R. 1046, m.38d; Richmond, Rot. Hund. I, p.118 and YI I, p.34; Ainsty, Rot. Hund. I, p.119; Langbargh, Rot. Hund. I, p.118, YI I, p.143 and Holt, "The Barons and the Great Charter", EHR LXX (1955), pp.21-2.
42. Tupling, "The Royal and Seignorial Bailiffs of Lancashire in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", Chetham Miscellanies VIII, pp.1 ff.
43. Cam, "The Evolution of the Medieval English Franchise", Speculum XXXII (1957), p.433.
44. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.168.
45. See above, p. 134.
46. See below, pp. 142-53.
47. Cam, "The Evolution of the Medieval English Franchise", Speculum XXXII (1957), p.436; Van Caenegem, Royal Writs in England from the Conqueror to Glanville, p.25; Clanchy, "The Franchise of Return of Writs", TRHS XVII (5th ser.) (1967), pp.59-79.

48. Henry I addressed a writ direct to the count and his officers (EYC III, No.1301); and in 1227-8 when a wine ship was wrecked off the coast of Holderness, a general writ was sent to the sheriff of Yorkshire and special writs to the archbishop of York and the count of Aumale (Close R. 1227-1231, pp.13,89). This appears to be unusual, for the normal process was for the writs to come to Holderness via the sheriff: but these two instances, widely separated in time, may indicate that it had once been customary to address writs to the counts of Aumale directly from the central government.
49. In 1291 an inquisition ad quod damnum found that the bailiff or serjeant of Holderness took money from the men of Holderness to be excused from serving upon assize, juries or inquisitions: YI II, pp.119-20.
50. Memoranda Roll 14 Henry III, p.18; "Memorandum quod senescallus comitis Albemarle non facit distrinctiones pro debitis dominis regis sicut vicecomes dicit." See also Van Caenegem, Royal Writs in England from the Conqueror to Glanvill, p.25.
51. BL Stowe Ch. 486.
52. Painter, English Feudal Barony, pp.116-8.
53. Book of Fees I, p.247; Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-1209, No.1426.
54. Rot. Hund. I, p.114; Quo Warranto, p.221.
55. Yorks. Assize Rolls, p.74.
56. In the 1251 eyre the property of St Peter's hospital, York, in the borough of Hedon was dealt with by the justices under a separate heading: "Pleas of the liberty of St Peter", PRO Assize R. 1046, m.64.
57. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.214.
58. Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-1209, No.1426.
59. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire 1218-19, pp.255,391.
60. Memoranda Roll 14 Henry II, p.18.
61. Yorks. Assize Rolls, p.115.
62. The offence was against the house of Magister William Passemer at Cowden.
63. PRO Coram Rege Writ file 50 H III K.B. 136/1/4.
64. The circumstances leading to the confiscation in 1268 were these: Richard de Halstead, sheriff of Holderness, was involved in a suit before the justices of the bench and the sheriff of York was ordered to attach him. Because of the king's order the sheriff of York many times ordered the bailiff of the liberty of Holderness to attach Richard, but Richard would not allow this. Afterwards the sheriff of York was ordered to make the countess of Aumale attach Richard, or else he would enter for her default into the liberty of Holderness. The countess fearing that he would enter the liberty, sent the bailiff of the liberty

- 64 cont'd to attach Richard and seized his goods. He continued to be recalcitrant however, and the liberty was temporarily confiscated. PRO Assize R. 1050, m.9 and Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.411. In September 1268 the king issued a writ relating to the seizure: "Whereas, on account of the default of bailiffs of the liberty of Holderness, whereupon a dispute has arisen between the countesses of Devon and Aumale, by occasion of which dispute the execution of our mandates has not been fully made within the liberty aforesaid, we have caused the same liberty to be taken into our hands; we wish, and by tenor of these present letters grant, that no prejudice, by occasion of the seizure aforesaid, shall be occasioned to Thomas de Forz, the heir of William, formerly count of Aumale, yet being under age, when he shall come to his majority". Hewlett's Report, p.16.
65. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.206.
66. PR 12 Henry II, pp.48-9.
67. PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6 (many examples).
68. Hunnisett, The Medieval Coroner, p.138.
69. Painter, English Feudal Barony, pp.115-6.
70. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.47; Tout, Chapters in Medieval Administrative History IV, p.271.
71. Rot. Hund. I, p.133. For the private coroner, see also pp. 106-7.
72. PR 12 Henry II, p.43. The amount was 2s. 1d.
73. PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6 contains 3 entries.
74. Rot. Hund. I, p.131.
75. Quo Warranto, p.201.
76. YI II, pp.119-20.
77. Quo Warranto, p.197.
78. Painter, English Feudal Barony, pp.105-6.
79. PRO Min. Acc. 1078/7.
80. Rot. Hund. I, p.133.
81. Thorne (ed.) Bracton, De Legibus II, p.437; Painter, English Feudal Barony, pp.106-7.
82. PRO Assize R. 1109, m.26.
83. Rot. Hund. I, p.106; in 1266 and 1269 small payments from the assize of ale occur in the estates accounts for Easington: PRO Min. Acc. 1078/8, m.4d and 1078/11, m.4.
84. Yorks. Fines 1232-1242, p.110.

85. In 1293 at the very end of her life, Isabella's claims of privileges made to the Yorkshire eyre by her attorney were recorded. She claimed the assize of bread and ale, pillory, tumbril, gallows and infangetheof with sacraborh at Ravenser: the assize of ale at Easington, Keyingham, Preston and Paull Fleet: widespread rights of warren: and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the issues of the wapentake court. PRO JUST. 1/1110, No.148.
86. PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6.
87. Below, p.276.
88. HUL, Attorney General v. Constable: Stuart Moore's Report, p.24.
89. Holderness is mentioned in the 13th-century Heimskringla Saga and Orkneyingasaga as a district, which may represent an early tradition (Binns, East Yorkshire in the Sagas); otherwise the first mention of Holderness is in Domesday Book.
90. Le Prévost, Ord. Vit. II, p.221 s.a. 1070: Chibnall, Ord. Vit. II, p.265.
91. Cam, "The Hundred and the Hundredal Manor", Liberties and Communities in Medieval England, pp.64-90.
92. DB, f.382.
93. CM II, p.83.
94. Smith, The Place-Names of East Riding of Yorkshire and York.
95. DB, ff.307,373; Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p.497 and n.
96. Brooks, DB and the ER, pp.17-18.
97. Cam, "Early groups of hundreds", Liberties and Communities in Medieval England, pp.94-5.
98. After the time of the counts, the sheriff's tourn was held in the old hundred divisions, twice yearly: but in the period up to 1260 there was no frankpledge in Yorkshire, and so no sheriff's tourn.
99. For the boundaries of the four divisions, see pp.102-4. The rural deanery was also divided into four from the 18th-century, but the four divisions of the deanery were not the same as the bailiwicks. Poulson, Holderness I, pp.99-100.
100. Shirley, Royal Letters I, p.450; Morris, Medieval English Sheriff, p.202. The evidence for the court of Holderness meeting three-weekly is:  
 1240 (3 references) Yorks. Fines 1232-1242, pp.82,93,94.  
 1246 Yorks. Fines 1232-1242, p.162.  
 1250-1 PRO Assize R. 1046, m.12d.  
 1251 Yorks. Fines 1246-1272, pp.48-9.  
 1275 YI I, p.153.  
 1278-81 Quo Warranto, pp.190,193.



101. CM I, pp.161-2, 309. Smith, in Place-Names of the East Riding and York, p.15, writes "the site of the wapentake meeting-place is not known, but the court was probably held at the Earl of Albemarle's castle at Skipsea Brough". This is probably based on the fact that Skipsea was the caput of Holderness before c.1200. The seat of a private court was usually the chief messuage of a fief, but not invariably so (Flower, Introduction to the Curia Regis Rolls, p.93).
102. In 1225 (CRR XII, Nos. 135,631); in 1240 (Yorks. Fines 1232-1242, p.93); in 1197-1210 (CM I, p.309); in 1251 (Yorks. Fines 1246-1272, p.48); not dated (HUL DDCC/43/6 and BL Add. MS 26736, f.76d).
103. PRO Assize R. 1046, m.40 and resolved in Yorks. Fines 1246-1272, p.48. Neither of these documents names the court as the wapentake court, and it may be that other courts are meant. In the same assize roll another man claimed that he was being distrained to do suit at Burstwick: PRO Assize R. 1046, m.12d.
104. PRO Assize R. 1109, m.26.
105. Boyle, Hedon, pp.47-8.
106. In 1304-5 lime and tiles were bought to mend it. In 1320-1 timber was bought and a beam put in the courthouse to strengthen it, and the door mended. Later in 1334-5 the gable was mended with wattle and daub with the addition of straw, and the broken-down prison remade. Boyle, Hedon, pp.xi,xvi,xvii, from PRO Min.Acc.of 33 Ed. I, 14 Ed.II and 8 Ed.III.
107. HUL DDCC/112/111, a 16th-century volume containing copies of documents relating to Holderness. This particular document begins "Inquisition made by Simon de Preston, William de Frodingham, Bernard de Areyns, Adam de Ulrome, Henry de Preston, William de Hutton, John de Reedmer, John de Camerton, Nicholas de Burstwick, William de Grimston, William de Camera, William de Flinton and Henry de Scarborough, jurors, who say upon their oaths that etc." The pages of the volume are for the most part unnumbered, but the first page of the survey is numbered in a contemporary hand "10". The survey mentions the rights in Holderness of Edmund, who married the Countess Aveline in 1259. Aveline came of age in 1273 and the survey is subsequent to that date. Robert Scures, who is mentioned as a tenant, gave his land in Riston to Robert Hildyard before the end of 1275 (deed at HUL, DDRI Box 10): John de Nuthill, also mentioned in the survey, died in April 1275 (YI I, p.153). This gives a date to the survey of 1273-5.

Very few place-names are given in the survey, and a possible explanation for this is that the rubrics of the original had faded before the copy was made.

107 cont'd

These are the names of those who owed suit to the wapentake court, from the list of c.1273-75, with the number of suits owed and the size of the holdings for which suit was owed.

John Adeloock 1 suit ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  car.)

Bernard de Areyns 1 suit (3 car.)

Michael son of William Almoner 1 suit ( $\frac{1}{2}$  car.)

Geoffrey Berchaud 2 suits ( 1 car.; also 1 holding of unknown size)

Prior of Bridlington 1 suit (3 car.)

William de Brochou (?) 1 suit (1 bov.)

Peter de Brus 1 suit ( $5\frac{1}{2}$  bov.)

William de Camera of Holme 1 suit (2 bov.)

John de Camerton 1 suit (3 car.)

John de Carlton 2 suits (6 car.; 5 car.)

Gerard the Chamberlain 1 suit ( 2 lands, "terrae")

William de Cheshunt 3 suits (3 car.; 3 car.; 1 bov.)

Simon Constable 6 suits (3 car.;  $5\frac{1}{2}$  bov.; 6 bov.; 2 car.; 2 car.; 2 car.)

William Constable 1 suit (2 car.)

John de Danthorpe 2 suits ( 8 bov.; 2 bov.)

Walter Fauconberg 7 suits ( 1 car.; 2 car.; 6 car.; 3 car.; 3 car.; 6 car.; also 1 holding of unknown size)

Peter de Goxhill 2 suits (3 car.; 9 bov.)

Robert de Goxhill 2 suits (6 car.)

Geoffrey Gumbald 1 suit (2 car.)

Nicholas Haukyn 1 suit ( $\frac{1}{2}$  car.)

Amand Hauteyn 1 suit (2 car.)

Hugh the Serjeant 1 suit ( $\frac{1}{2}$  car.)

William de Lascelles 1 suit (1 messuage)

William de Lissett 1 suit (2 car.)

John de Meaux 1 suit (2 car.)

William le Moigne 1 suit (1 bov.)

Ingelram de Monceaux 1 suit ( $23\frac{1}{2}$  car.)

Stephen de Monte 1 suit (2 bov.)

Thomas de Newton 1 suit (2 car.)

Stephen de Owstwick 2 suits (3 car.; 2 car.)

Stephen de Paull 1 suit (7 bov.)

William Perchaych (?) \* 1 suit (7 bov. 1 messuage and 9 tofts)

William Porthay\* 1 suit (4 car. 1 messuage and 9 tofts)

(\*probably different versions of the same surname)

107 cont'd

Henry de Preston 2 suits ( $\frac{1}{2}$  car.; 2 car.; also suit to unnamed court for 2 car.)

Simon de Preston 1 suit (13 bov.)

Robert son of Doyes 1 suit (1 bov.)

Richard de Ros 1 suit (4 car.)

Robert de Ros 5 suits (2 car. 6 bov.; 3 car.; 12 car.; 4 car.; 1 car.)

Adam de St Martin 1 suit in dispute (his ancestors did the suit but not he)

Herbert de St Quintin 4 suits (8 car.; 5 car.; 1 car.;  $3\frac{1}{2}$  car.; also  
2 suits to unnamed courts for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  car.; 2 car.)

Robert de Scures 4 suits (4 car.; 3 car.; 3 car.; 5 car. 6 bov.)

Heir of Nicholas de Skeffling 1 suit (4 bov.)

Thomas de Southorpe 1 suit (4 bov.)

Heirs of Stuteville 1 suit (1 car. 8 bov.)

Saer de Sutton 1 suit (4 car.; also 1 suit to unnamed court for  $\frac{1}{2}$  car.)

Nicholas de Thorne 1 suit ( $\frac{1}{2}$  car.)

Simon de Ver 1 suit (6 car.)

John de la Ward 1 suit (4 car.)

John de Wawne 1 suit (2 car. 5 bov.)

Simon Whittik 1 suit (3 car.)

Henry de Wyveton 2 suits (3 car.; 2 car.)

John de ... (illegible) 1 suit (2 car. 6 bov.)

Three men owed suit to unnamed courts in addition to those mentioned above:

Ralf Hauteyn 1 suit (4 bov.)

William de la Twyer 1 suit (7 bov.)

Robert Sotewayn 1 suit (1 car.)

108. PRO Assize R. 1046, m.12d.

109. PRO Assize R. 1045, m.50d.

110. PRO Rentals and Surveys, 11/730. That suit belonged to land rather than the tenant was first noticed by Maitland, in History of English Law, I, pp. 540 ff. See also Cam, "Suitors and Scabini", Liberties and Communities in Medieval England, p.62; Ault, Private Jurisdiction in England, pp.45-6: County court suit was also owed by certain lands, Morris, The Early English County Court, p.100.

111. HUL DDCC/113/111, p.15.

112. William le Moigne did not hold land in other vills whereby he was a suitor.

113. PRO Min. Acc. 1118/16.

114. EYC III, No.1363.
115. Kirkby's Quest, p.74.
116. YI I, pp.77-83.
117. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.176; Morris, The Medieval English Sheriff, p.202; Ault, Private Jurisdiction in England, pp.197-8, 288.
118. Gale, Richmond, p.21.
119. PR 1 Richard, p.86.
120. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.174.
121. Cam, op. cit., pp.174-5.
122. In 1940, in a review of Denholm-Young's Seignorial Administration, Miss Cam took Denholm-Young to task for failing to distinguish between feudal and franchisal justice (EHR LV (1940), pp.652-4). However in 1957 she wrote of the first generations after the Norman Conquest that the evidence of the Anglo-Norman charters shows no difference between feudal and franchisal justice ("The Evolution of the Medieval English Franchise", Speculum XXXII (1957), p.433). As in many other aspects of English law, the transition from the 12th to the 13th century led to greater categorisation and definition.
123. Farrer, Lancashire Court Rolls, p.v; Ault, Private Jurisdiction in England, pp.274-93 and 324-5; Cam, "Suitors and Scabini", Liberties and Communities, p.60.
124. Chrimes, intro. to Holdsworth, History of English Law I (1956), p.20\*.
125. Yorks. Fines 1232-1246, pp.93,94.
126. Yorks. Fines 1232-1246, p.162.
127. Yorks. Fines 1232-1246, p.82.
128. HUL DDCC/135/1.
129. Guisborough Charty I, pp.92-4, quoted by Holt, "The Barons and the Great Charter", EHR LXX (1955), pp.21-2. For the sacrabar see Kaye, "The Sacrabar", EHR LXXXIII (1968), pp.744-58.
130. Yorks. Fines 1246-72, p.117.
131. Yorks. Fines 1246-72, pp.117,137.
132. Brid. Charty, p.321.
133. PRO Rentals and Surveys 11/730.
134. Woodbine (ed.) Glanvill De Legibus XIV 1.
135. Gross, Select Coroners Rolls, p.xli, says it was usual for appeals to be made in the county court, although they were sometimes made in the hundred court. Thorne (ed.) Bracton, De Legibus II, pp.394-6, makes no mention of appeals being made in hundred or wapentake, but only in the county court: but in the Notebook he quotes an appeal of murder made in 1226 in a hundred court in Oxfordshire (case 1711). In



- 135 cont'd 1201 a Cornish jury was amerced for a stupid presentment, because they presented an appeal which was made in the hundred court and which was not presented in the county (Maitland, Select Pleas of the Crown I, p.6). In Somerset an appeal of rape was made in the hundred but afterwards not prosecuted (Flower, Introduction to the Curia Regis Rolls, p.83). By a law tract of c.1307 every hue raised and all violent shedding of blood was to be presented in the hundred (Maitland, The Court Baron, p.88). Appellants were supposed to raise the hue and cry, see it followed to the neighbouring townships, then report to the bailiff or serjeant of the wapentake, then to the coroner, and finally the county court. Hunnisett, The Medieval Coroner, pp.55-6.
136. PRO Assize R. 1109, mm.27,28; Assize R. 1043, m.6.
137. Hurnard, "The jury of Presentment and the Assize of Clarendon", EHR LVI (1941), pp.374-410.
138. Assize of Clarendon cap. 1.
139. Hunnisett, The Medieval Coroner, pp.55-6.
140. Hurnard, "The jury of Presentment and the Assize of Clarendon", EHR LVI (1941), p.381; Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-9, pp.xlix and lviii; Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.70; Morris, The Medieval English Sheriff, p.194; Morris, Early English County Court, pp.103-4.
141. PRO Assize R. 1109, m.27.
142. PRO Assize R. 1109, m.27; Assize of Clarendon art. 7.
143. PRO Assize R. 1039, 1043 and 1109; the first and last are incomplete rolls.
144. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.181.
145. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.181.
146. PRO Assize R. 1109, m.28. A very similar case of poaching, in which the defendant claimed to be in the king's peace, took the case into the royal court. See below, p. 158.
147. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.179. For examples of cases heard in hundred or wapentake courts, see Ault, Private Jurisdiction in England, pp.289-93; Cam, Liberties and Communities in Medieval England, pp.198-201 and Maitland, The Court Baron, p.88. The best account of criminal procedure in local courts is by D.M. Stenton in her introduction to Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-9.
148. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, pp.179-80.

149. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.101, from PRO KB 27/53, m.20.
150. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.180; Morris, The Medieval English Sheriff, pp.121-2; Chrimes, Intro. to Holdsworth, History of English Law I (1956), pp.11\*-12\*.
151. The writ of right appears in Henry II's reign and was perhaps known in Henry I's reign. The rule was, however it originated, that no man need answer for his freehold land without a royal writ of right.  
D.M. Stenton, English Justice, pp.27-30, and authorities there quoted.
152. Brid. Charty, p.320.
152. Brid. Charty, p.321.
154. PRO Assize R. 1042, mm.15d, 2d.
155. Morris, The Early English County Court, pp.172-3.
156. Rot. Cur. Reg. II, p.163; CRR X, p.162.
157. Pat. R. 1225-32, pp.220,288.
158. HUL DDCC/43/6.
159. Brid. Charty, p.313 (2 examples on this page).
160. CM I, pp.161-2.
161. CRR V, p.261.
162. CM I, p.309. A quitclaim made to the count "before all his barons in his court" may refer either to the wapentake court meeting as an honour court, or to the lord's council: CM I, pp.165,224.
163. CM I, p.224. The court is said to be that of William de Forz, and as it occurs in the abbacy of Thomas, 1182-1197, it must be William de Forz I.
164. See above, p.144.
165. See below, pp. 202-4.
166. Could this mean that the seignorial court was copying the royal court in providing a jury for a small sum?
167. For Mois's bailiwick, see pp. 102-3.
168. For Dunsley's bailiwick, see p.104.
169. PRO Min. Acc. 1118/16. This is cited by Denholm-Young (wrongly) in "Yorkshire Estates", p.394, as "1111/16" and on p.418, n.5, as "118/16".
- 170.. See the next paragraph.
171. PRO Min. Acc. 1078/7 and (1265-6) Min. Acc. 1118/16.
172. PRO Rentals and Surveys No.730; Rot. Hund. I, p.106.
173. PRO Rentals and Surveys No.730.
174. See above, p.134.
175. Poulson, Holderness I, p.155.

176. Burstwick, PRO Assize R. 1046, m.12d; Keyingham, worth £7 3s. per annum in 1260, PRO Rentals and Surveys 11/730 and mentioned also in PRO Min. Acc. 1078/8; Preston, worth £5 18s. per annum in 1260 and mentioned also in PRO Min. Acc. 1078/8; Easington, worth £4 16s. 4d. in 1260, PRO Min. Acc. 1078/8; Withernsea, Kilnsea, Skeffling and Lelley (all mentioned in PRO Min. Acc. 1078/10); Burton Pidsea and Cleeton (PRO Min. Acc. 1078/11). These references are not exhaustive, merely indicate the existence of the courts.
177. PRO Min. Acc. 1078/8, m.5.
178. PRO Min. Acc. 1078/8, m.5d.
179. PRO Assize R. 1042, m.15d.
180. Beverley minster MSS, The Provost's Book, f.4.
181. PRO Assize R. 1050, m.26.
182. Rot. Hund. I, p.133; Quo Warranto, p.211.
183. Rot. Hund. I, p.106.
184. Quo Warranto, pp.193, 442.
185. Yorks. Fines 1232-46, p.110.
186. PRO Assize R. 1042, m.10d and Rentals and Surveys 11/730.
187. PRO Rentals and Surveys 11/730 and Min. Acc. 1078/8 and 11; see also Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.405.
188. PRO Min. Acc. 1078/8, m.4.
189. PRO Rentals and Surveys No.730.
190. Cam, Liberties and Communities in Medieval England, p.184, from Plac. Abbrev. p.257.
191. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, pp.219, 236, mentioning confiscations of John de Burgh's hundred of Rochford, Gilbert of Clare's hundreds in Kent and the bishop of Durham's liberty. See also Lapsley, Palatinate of Durham, pp.219, 246; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, I, pp.571-2; Chrimes, ed., Holdsworth's History of English Law (1956) pp.10\*-11\*; Young, The English Borough and Royal Administration, 1130-1307, pp.13-15.
192. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.474.
193. Rot. Litt. Cl. II, p.172.
194. For 1266 see PRO Coram Rege Writ file 50 H III K.B. 136/1/4; for 1268 see PRO Assize R. 1050, m.9, quoted at length above, note 64.
195. A new interpretation of the motives which drove the barons during Stephen's reign has recently been advanced in an article by Edmund King, "King Stephen and the Anglo-Norman aristocracy", History LIX (1974), pp. 180-94. There is no doubt however that, whatever their motives, the barons extended their power.

196. Downer, Leges Henrici Primi, p.109.
197. EYC III, No.1301.
198. For the mint at Hedon see article by Jones "Hedon near Hull -a new Norman Mint", British Numismatic Journal XXVI (1949), pp.28-30, and for this and other baronial coinage of Yorkshire, Mack, "Stephen and the Anarchy 1135-1154", British Numismatic Journal XXXV (1966), pp.38-112. See also p. 276.
199. Newburgh I, p.103.
200. EYC III, Nos. 1305, 1306.
201. Newburgh I, pp.103-4.
202. Johnson, Dialogus de Scaccario, p.84.
203. Cam, Liberties and Communities in Medieval England, p.60. The lord of a liberty claiming his privileges in 1330 told the justices that his predecessor "had the aforesaid hundred, pleas of withername, execution of the lord king's writs and thus consequently was the lord king's servant" (Cam, op. cit., p.204, from Quo Warranto, p.581).
204. PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6d. For the effect of the claim "in the king's peace" see Thorne (ed.), Bracton, De Legibus II, pp.436-7.
205. Above, p. 149
206. PR 12 Henry II, pp.48-9.
207. PR 16 Henry II, p.43; PR 1 Richard, p.86.
208. Shirley, Royal Letters I, pp.395-6.
209. PRO Assize R. 1039, m.6; partial survival only printed by both the YAS (Yorks. Assize Rolls) and the Selden Society (Pleas before the king or his justices, II and IV).
210. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire 1218-1219, pp.255,391.
211. PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6.
212. Assize of Clarendon, art. 5.
213. Johnson, Dialogus de Scaccario, p.101.
214. PR 22 Henry II, pp.118-93; probable Holderness names: also PR 23 Henry II, p.7.
215. PRO Assize R. 1043, Assize R. 1047.
216. PRO Assize R. 1109, m.27.
217. YI I, pp.19-20.
218. Woodbine (ed.), Glanvill, De Legibus, II, 7.
219. Woodbine (ed.), Glanvill, De Legibus, XII, 25.
220. CRR I, p.5.
221. CRR XII, No.631; for the writ de pace habenda see Woodbine (ed.), Glanvill, De Legibus, II, 7.
222. PR 22 Henry II, p.108.



223. PR 24 Henry II, p.71. It is thought that Matilda may have come from Hedon because a man named Ailwin lived there earlier in the century; no Holdewin has been traced. The sons of Ailwin occur PR 4 Henry II, p.146.
224. PR 26 Henry II, p.73. The Grand Assize originated at Windsor, probably in April 1179, and it may be the Grand Assize that Uctred was offering to buy.
225. PR 33 Henry II, p.87.
226. CRR V, p.87 and Yorks. Fines John, p.169.
227. Lists of Yorkshire eyres in Pleas before the king or his justices III, and introductions to YAS volumes of Yorkshire fines.
228. Howden IV, p.62.
229. PRO Assize R. 1047.
230. CRR I, p.33.
231. PRO Assize R. 1042, m.16.
232. In the eleven years between 1219 and 1230 there are 10 cases in the CRR in which William de Forz II was defendant, some of great importance such as the case of the lands of Castle Bytham in Lincolnshire, and none in which he was plaintiff: in none was he known to be successful. The outcome of the cases is not always recorded: but where it is, in approximately half the cases, the count was always the loser.
233. YAJ XI (1891), pp.177,178,179.
234. The count was not involved in fines in Richard or John's reign, so far as is known. Between 1218 and 1231 he was party to four Yorkshire fines: between 1232 and 1246 seven Yorkshire fines: between 1246 and 1272 four Yorkshire fines. Fines could be made in private courts, and there is a Yorkshire example of a fine being made in the court of William le Vavassur at Hazlewood, about 1200. But this particular fine was not filed, and could not be found in 1231, so that a further lawsuit arose as to what had been agreed! A royal fine would have been better.
235. Stubbs, Select Charters, p.175.
236. Stubbs, Select Charters, p.252.
237. Cam, "The material available in the eyre rolls", BIHR III (1925), pp.152-9; Cam, "The evolution of the medieval English franchise", Speculum XXXII (1957), pp.427-42.
238. PRO Assize R. 1109, m.26.
239. PRO Assize R. 1047 and Assize R. 1109, m.26.

240. In 1176 the justices in eyre were by the assize of Northampton empowered to hear proceedings under the writs of morte d'ancestor and novel disseisin (art. 4,5). In 1194 they were (according to the articles of the eyre copied by Roger of Howden) to take grand assizes also if only 100s. of land or less was at issue (Howden III, pp.262-7). By 1218 the justices were to take all assizes and all pleas (Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.380). The assizes had become so popular that by 1215 Magna Carta directed they would be taken four times a year in every county, although this may have proved excessive for in 1217 the reissue of the charter substituted once a year for four times. Thereafter the justices dealt with all pleas, but in addition there were specially appointed justices for assizes. On all the above, see Maitland's introduction to Select Pleas of the Crown I (1200-1225); Van Caenegem, Royal Writs in England from the Conquest to Glanvill; D.M. Stenton, English Justice.
241. Painter, English Feudal Barony, pp.111-2.
242. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire 1218-1219, No.89.
243. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire 1218-1219, Nos.683,1105. In the same eyre the earl of Chester's bailiffs claimed special privilege and refused the sheriff admission to part of Richmondshire: Ibid, No.1145.
244. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Lincolnshire 1218-1219 and Worcestershire 1221, Nos. 151,254,439-42,708,712 and pp.1i-lvi.
245. Stubbs, Select Charters, esp. cap. 13-14, 17-20, 28-9.
246. Yorks.Fines 1232-46, p.110.
247. Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp.467,477.
248. EYC III, No.1363.
249. EYC III, No.1390; also Quo Warranto, p.224.
250. Quo Warranto, p.211.
251. See for example PRO Assize R. 1046, mm.64-67d; CRR III, p.327.
252. Beresford and Finsberg, The Medieval English Borough, pp.185-6.
253. EYC III, No.1316; Boyle, Hedon, p.19; Rot. Chart. pp.81,99.
254. See above, pp.143-4 and note 106. For the rents, tallage etc. see PRO Rentals and Surveys 730, YI I, p.79 and HUL DDCC/45/1 and 2.
255. YI I, p.79 and PRO Min. Acc. 1078/7,8,9 etc.
256. YI I, p.79 and PRO Rentals and Surveys 730.
257. PRO Rentals and Surveys 730.
258. Borough charter of 1348: printed in Boyle, Hedon, p.45 and Note N. For all three boroughs and their privileges, see pp. 270-82.

1. Hollister, Military Organization, p.13.
2. Douglas, William the Conqueror, p.272.
3. Brooks, DB and the ER, pp.55-6; Le Patourel, "The Norman Conquest of Yorkshire", Northern History VI (1971), pp.1-21.
4. A-S Chron. s.a. 1066, 1071.
5. For an account of William's redistribution of land in the 1070s, see Ord. Vit. II, p.222; Hollister, Military Organization, p.20n.
6. Douglas, William the Conqueror, pp.218-22.
7. La Beuvrière is in Flanders, near Bethune. A.S. Ellis, "Biographical notes on the Yorkshire tenants named in Domesday Book", YAJ IV, pp.214-6, found no references to Drogo in Flemish history. See pp.17-21.
8. Darby and Maxwell, DGNE, pp.167-8 and fig.42. The Holderness Domesday is contained in ff.302,304,323-5.
9. F.M. Stenton, Danelaw Documents: Manorial Danelaw; English Feudalism; Peasantry of Danelaw.
10. DB, f.325.
11. Hollister, Military Organization, p.20, shows that in many parts of England the English tenant was forced down the social scale, i.e. the Norman was inserted between the former holder and his lord. There is no evidence either way in Holderness as to this possibility.
12. At Patrington and its berewicks two, at Ottringham, Burton Constable Cowden and Catwick one at each place.
13. At Aldburgh and its sokelands and at Preston, three at each place, at Catwick two and at Aldbrough (or Newton, Skirlaugh or Totleys) and Brandesburton, one at each place.
14. Except in the one instance of the sokelands of Mappleton, where the phrase "Drogo's men" is used.
15. There are four exceptions: at Riston, Gerbodo had  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ploughs, at Rise Franco had two, at Witherwick Wazelin had  $\frac{1}{2}$ , at Sutton Lambert had two.
16. The sole exceptions being Catwick and the church vill of Cowden.
17. The sole exception being Wizo at Hornsea. At Rimswell, Baldwin and Guntard held jointly.
18. Except at Catwick and Cowden.
19. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.9.
20. Hollister, Military Organization, p.115 and n.3.
21. D.M. Stenton, English Society in the early Middle Ages, p.61.

22. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.138n.; Hollister, Military Organization, pp.46,57; Douglas, William the Conqueror, p.274.
23. Red Book of the Exchequer I, p.415.
24. Round, "The Origin of Belvoir Castle", EHR XXII (1907), pp.508-10; Le Patourel, "The Norman Colonization of Britain", I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto medioevo, pp.424-5.
25. The castle may be referred to in a charter of 1115 (EYC III, No.1304) when Stephen count of Aumale confirmed to Aumale abbey churches and tithes of Holderness, including "de castello de Aldburgo". Farrer, comparing this with EYC III, No.1307, printed this as "de castello, de Aldeburgo" and glosses it as "the castle (or Skipsea)", but the all-important comma is not in the 17th-century text from which Farrer printed the charter (the only text known). The castle was possibly lived in by Ulf, pre-Domesday tenant of Aldbrough, and a generous benefactor to York minster. A Saxon sundial commemorating him is in Aldbrough church, and his will is one of the few Anglo-Saxon wills to have survived: see Binns, East Yorkshire in the Sagas, pp.10-22; Whitelock, Anglo-Saxon Wills, pp.94-7. Much of Aldbrough has been lost into the sea by coastal erosion since 1086, and no castle site is known.
26. On the archbishop's Holderness manor of Patrington and its berewicks, two knights had 6 carucates (it is not clear if these were on the demesne or not), at Burton Constable one knight had 1 plough on the demesne, Ottringham was rented by a knight, and the situation of the tenants at Cowden and Catwick is not clear.
27. DB, f.304; Brooks, DB and the ER, p.33.
28. DB, f.360b.
29. It is possible that the same knights held land in several places: there must have been at least three knights, because that number of knights occurs together in one place.
30. Adelelm (who may be the same as Alelm) held land in Hoby, Leics.  
 Franco held land in Sotherton in Suffolk  
 Fulk held land in Cold Overton, Leics.  
 Gozelin (who may be the same as Wazelin) held land in Normanby, Lincs.  
 Rayner held land in Kettleby Thorpe, Lincs.  
 Robert held land in Hagworthingham, Kirmington, Nun Coton and Weelsby, Lincs.  
 Tetbald held land in Barrow on Humber, Lincs.  
 Walter held land in Counthorpe, Lincs.  
 Wizo held land in Stroxtan, Lincs.



30 cont'd

Some of these names are commoner than others. There are many Rayners, Walters, Tedbalds, Baldwins and Fulks in Domesday Book, but the only Wizo to occur is as a tenant of Drogo, and may be assumed to be the same man in both counties of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

In addition, the following tenants of Drogo in Lincolnshire and elsewhere did not hold Holderness lands in Domesday Book:

Ailward and Ulnoht, Saxlingham, Norfolk.

Alwin, Barningham, Norfolk.

Colegrim, Stoke Rochford, North Stoke and Witham, Lincs.

Colsuan, Claxby and Normanby, Lincs.

Goisfrid, Ormsby, Thimbleby and Langton, Stainton, Lincs.

Ulric, Couthorpe, Lincs.

31. The origin of the names from Withycombe (ed.), Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names. A Fleming called Wizo built a castle called Wiston, or Castellum Wiz in Wales; there was a group of Flemish settlers in South Wales. Lloyd, History of Wales, II, pp.424-5.
32. See below and n.36.
33. See p. 188.
34. Ellis, "Biographical notes on the Yorkshire tenants named in Domesday: the under-tenants", YAJ V, pp.289-330.
35. EYC I, No.12; F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.24; Regesta I, p.118.
36. CM I, pp.78-9.
37. It is remarkable to find Danish knights in Holderness at this time. A charter of c.1135-43 names the grandfather of Gamel son of Ketel as Norman: HMC Hastings I, p.164, date of the charter given there corrected in YAJ XLIII, pp.99-111. For the Meaux family see Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, p.59, and Clay, "The Family of Meaux", YAJ XLIII, pp.99-111. The name Meaux in Holderness is unlikely to be of French origin, as the passage quoted suggests, as it is already found in DB (Smith, Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York, p.44) and it is improbable that a man with the strongly Scandinavian name of Gamel son of Ketel son of Norman came from Champagne: rather, he took his surname from the Holderness Meaux. At Meaux and Wawne no tenant is mentioned by name in Domesday Book, the first recorded tenant at Wawne being Peter, the count of Aumale's knight, c.1150 (CM I, p.83). Siward of Sutton was the ancestor of the branch of the Meaux family who held part of Sutton from the archbishop of York. He was the son of Ketel son of Norman, and so brother to Gamel, tenant of Meaux (Clay, "The Family of Meaux", YAJ XLIII, p.99). The Franco de Fauconberg of

- 37 cont'd Rise was the "Franco" named in Domesday Book as the tenant of Rise, Bilton, Catfoss and Marton (DB, ff.324b-325) and the ancestor of the Holderness family of Fauconberg, for which see below, pp. 186-8. Richard de Scruteville does not occur in Domesday Book, which records Routh as part of the soc of Mappleton (part of which was held by the anonymous men of Drogo) and also as a berewick belonging to the canons of St John of Beverley, but the Scrutevilles were in possession of Routh in Henry I's reign. In 1231 William de Scruteville claimed wood in Routh from the seisin of his great-grandfather Alan in the time of Henry I (PRO Assize R. 1042, m.13). In 1151 the family exchanged part of Routh for land in Aldburgh, to benefit Meaux abbey (EYC III, No.1381; CM I, p.83).
38. Charters dated 1096, 1102-30, and c.1120-30. See below, in the list of the counts' charters, appendix A, Nos. 3,5,6.
39. See below, in the list of the counts' charters, appendix A, Nos. 9,13, 21,23,24,25,26,28,29,33,34,35,37.
40. See below, in the list of the counts' charters, appendix A, Nos. 11,21,27.
41. See below, in the list of the counts' charters, appendix A, Nos. 9,13. "Isaac" is an unusual name for a Gentile in the early middle ages, although two Isaacs are recorded in Domesday Book. Isaac de Skeffling was a clerk and a man of great authority (CM I, p.161). He and his family also held land in Cumberland. For Isaac, see also p. 116.
42. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.86.
43. Red Book of the Exchequer I, pp.412-3; EYC I, No.38.
44. Painter, English Feudal Barony, p.22.
45. Burstwick, Kilnsea, Withernsea, Mappleton, Hornsea, Cleeton, Easington and Aldbrough: only Preston, worth £6, was in Baldwin's hands.
46. None of these places continued to be held in the same family in the next available records (usually the inquest of c.1260, printed in Kirkby's Quest, pp.371-7), except Franco's land. Garton and Ringborough appear to have descended together to the Ros family; Rimswell went to the St Quintins, most of Preston remained in demesne, Nunkeeling was partly in demesne, partly granted in alms, and partly held by the St Quintins. Franco's land, on the other hand, all went to the Fauconbergs. As two of Franco's manors had been in the hands of William Malet, it is unlikely that he came to Holderness before 1069 when Malet was captured by the Danes.
47. There is some evidence to suggest that by the mid 12th century a knight's fee was often made up of lands worth either ten libratae or

- 47 cont'd twenty libratae (F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, pp.166-8). In Scotland in the reign of David I (1124-53) there is evidence of one fee at least being reckoned to be worth 20 marks of silver a year (Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, p.224).
48. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.164.
49. See note 46 above.
50. A-S Chron. s.a. 1086(1087).
51. Ord. Vit. IV, 7, quoted Hollister, Military Organization, p.27; Round, Feudal England, pp.225 ff; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, pp.258-9. For a contrary view about the imposition of the quotas, see Adam, A Conquest of England, pp.223-4. Hollister, op. cit. p.42, suggests that the preponderance of 5s and 10s in the Anglo-Norman quotas is the liking of assessors for round numbers.
52. Douglas, William the Conqueror, p.273.
53. The Yorkshire assessment is Red Book of the Exchequer I, p.434. In Lincolnshire Drogo had held land in some 20 places, which many years later (in 1212 and 1242) were liable for 6 and some small fractions of knights' fees. Some of Drogo's Lincolnshire lands were not inherited by the Aumales: conversely, the Aumales subsequently held some Lincolnshire land which Drogo had not held. The Lincolnshire returns of 1212 are printed in the Book of Fees I, pp.153-97, and those of 1242-3 in Book of Fees II, p.1082. The principal fees held in Lincolnshire of the Aumales at that date were:
- Barrow 3 fees
  - Bytham  $\frac{1}{2}$  fee
  - Carlton le Moorland 1 fee
  - Goxhill  $\frac{1}{30}$  fee
  - Hagworthingham  $\frac{1}{48}$  fee
  - Kettleby Thorpe  $\frac{1}{120}$  fee
  - Killingholme  $\frac{1}{2}$  fee +  $\frac{1}{80}$  fee
  - Limberg & Kirmington illegible in 1212 inquest:  $\frac{1}{41}$  in 1242-3
  - Normanby le Wold  $\frac{1}{100}$  fee in 1242-3
  - Nun Coton not recorded
  - Ormsby  $\frac{1}{17}$  fee
  - Ponton Stroxton and Stoke  $\frac{1}{3}$  fee
  - Stainton  $\frac{1}{20}$  fee by 1260 (I.p.m. of William de Forz III, see note 56)
  - Thimbleby, Langton and Coningsby,  $\frac{1}{10}$  fee
  - Weelsby, 1 fee

## 53 cont'd

All these places had been held by Drogo de la Beuvrière in 1086. In addition by 1212 the Aumales also held land in Lincolnshire at:

Allington 3 parts of  $\frac{1}{2}$  fee

Ashby, Stainsby and Greetham, 1/10 fee

Bassingham 1 fee (this may be an error, as it is not mentioned again)

Gedney, Holbeach and Whapplode 1/20 +  $\frac{1}{4}$  fee

Hemswell and Hackthorn  $\frac{1}{2}$  fee

Saxilby  $\frac{1}{2}$  fee (I.p.m. of William de Forz III, see note 56).

Toft and Newton 1/10 fee (1242-3 inquest)

Thorganby  $\frac{1}{3}$  +  $\frac{1}{4}$  fee (1242-3 inquest)

In addition some land at Thornton Curtis, Grasby and Audleby was held by the abbot of Thornton in free alms by 1212.

In Leicestershire the Aumales also held land which owed service to the caput of the Lincolnshire lands at Holywell (I.p.m. of William de Forz III) in the vill of Eaton, Sewstern and Branston; the military service due from the Leicestershire lands is recorded variously during the 13th century, but in the I.p.m. it is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 knights' fees (see note 56 for the I.p.m.).

The total service due from the Lincolnshire and Leicestershire lands is just over 11 fees.

54. Red Book of the Exchequer II, p.644; Receuil des historiens de France XXIII, p.698.

55. Red Book of the Exchequer II, p.490; date from Book of Fees I, p.54.

The reluctance of some of the barons to return their number of knights' fees to the exchequer was a great nuisance, and for years after 1166 the entries relating to their scutage in the pipe rolls are headed "De hiis qui non miserunt cartas". In 1199 the exchequer clerks added "The sheriff cannot render anything for them, nor show writs of quittance for them, nor have the barons certified for how many fees they ought to answer" (PR 1 John, p.254).

56. Kirkby's Quest, pp.371-7; Cal. i.p.m. Edward I, IV, No.468; HUL DDCC 112/111, a 16th-century copy giving more accurate place and personal names and therefore emanating from a better original.

57. Cl.R. 1288-96, pp.148-9.

58. HUL DDCC 112/111, DDCC 40/2, EYC III, No.1311, BL Add. MS 26736, f.82d, Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.243; also the surveys named in note 56 above.

59. EYC III, No.1311.



60. DB, f.323b, Burstwick and Mappleton assessments.
61. F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp.506-7.
62. HUL DDCC 112/111, DDCC 93/1, DDCC 43/2, EYC III, No.1364, the last being dated 1188. This peculiarity continued into the 13th and 14th centuries: Kirkby's Quest, pp.248, 440. In EYC I, No.8, Farrer uses 8 bovates = 1 carucate to calculate the lands of Patrington.
63. EYC III, No.1361.
64. EYC VII, p.90.
65. Greenway, Charters of the Honour of Mowbray, p.xxxvii.
66. EYC X, pp.172,98,104,152-3,168,166,94-6.
67. EYC XII, pp.83,80-1,16.
68. EYC XI, index.
69. Round, Feudal England, pp.293-5, has a passage on "the normal knight's fee" giving variable sizes, none larger than 14 carucates. Hollister, Military Organization, quotes fees in England of 8,10,12,14,16, and 24 carucates. See also Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, pp.256-7, and Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England, p.33 and n.2. The Aumale fees in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire were of variable size, but at Gedney Holbeach and Whapplode, and at Goxhill and Ormsby the fees contained 48 carucates (I.p.m. William de Forz III, see above note 56, and Book of Fees II, p.1016). Powicke seems surprised to find that a knight's fee in Yorkshire was still reckoned in carucates of land "as late as Henry III's reign": actually this was the general rule in Yorkshire at least as late as 1284-5, the date of Kirkby's Quest, and much further afield than Yorkshire, see Cal. i.p.m. Henry III, passim. In Normandy too fees varied in size: Hollister, Military Organization, p.43.
70. F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p.629.
71. Holt, The Northerners, p.20. On the small amount of service required from Northumberland tenants-in-chief, see also C. Hunter Blair "Baronys and Knights of Northumberland 1166-1266", in Arch. Aeliana XXX (4th ser.)(1952), pp.1-56.
72. Kirkby's Quest, pp.371-7.
73. Mappleton, Brandesburton, Burshill, Lissett, Thirkleby, Ellerby, Dowthorpe and Langthorpe, Rimswell, Roos and Owstwick.
74. Atwick, Arnold, Marfleet, Roos, Grimston, Thorpe next Aldbrough, Fosham and Ryhill.
75. Great Hatfield, Withernewick, Roos, Catfoss, Bewholme, Catwick, Arnold, Skirlaugh, Ulrome, Rowton, Bilton, Wyton, Marton and Halsham.
76. Cl.R. 1288-96, pp.148-9.

77. EYC I, Nos.5,8.
78. EYC I, Nos.3,4.
79. The hide was also used as a land measurement in Yorkshire in 963 but is not found after the Conquest in Yorkshire. On the assessment system of the Danelaw, see F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp.639-40; F.M. Stenton, Manorial Danelaw, pp.87-90.
80. Wellldon Finn, The Making and Limitations of Yorkshire Domesday; p.4.
81. Kirkby's Quest, pp.371-7.
82. On the assessments see Mitchell, Taxation in Medieval England, pp.112,128, 131-8; Darby and Maxwell, DGNE, p.184; Holt, The Northerners, pp.146-7. Round believed the standard unit to be 120 acres, but Vinogradoff takes it to be 100 acres. The property holders resisted a new assessment, and in at least 20 counties in 1198, and possibly in all counties, the county fined for the tax rather than pay by the reassessed carucate. Tax on carucates was finally abandoned in 1224 (Mitchell, ob. cit. p.154). See also below, pp. 213-4, 243-4.
84. Kirkby's Quest, p.377: the total given in the text (355 carucates) does not correspond to the sum of the numbers (399 carucates).
85. HUL DDCC 113/111, p.24.
86. Kirkby's Quest, pp.74-7. The archbishop's land was 33 carucates according to this survey.
87. See above, p. 25.
88. Foster and Longley, The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey, pp./ 239,244,260.  
The name of Herbert de St Quintin is an interlineation, but seems to the editors to be a contemporary one.
89. See p p. 88-9.
90. EYC II, No.826; PR 31 Henry I, p.26.
91. EYC III, p.64; EYC II, No.826; Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, p.82; Loyd, Anglo-Norman Families, p.97; CI.R. 1279-88, p.148.
92. Clay, "Family of Constable of Halsham", YAJ XL (1960), pp.202-4.
93. The Areyns family came from Airaines (Somme), which was part of the inheritance of Countess Hawisa, wife of Count Stephen of Aumale.  
The church of Airaines was given by Hawisa and Stephen, and Hawisa's father Ralf de Mortemer, to the priory of St Martin des Champs in Paris, c.1100 (Round, Cal. Docs. France, No.1264, from original, now archives de France S 1410, No.20). Warner de Areyns witnessed this gift. The family subsequently held lands in Little Hatfield and Seaton in Holderness before the end of the 12th century (CM I, p.306), and at

93 cont'd Barrow, part of the Aumale fee in Lincolnshire (Rot. Curia Reg. I, p.90).

Oyry was a family name in Aumale between 1115 and 1130. The Oyrys came first to Lincolnshire and then to Holderness (see pp. 119-20). The Monceaux came from the town called Monchaux-Soreng, about 15 m. north of Aumale, where there is a motte and associated ditches. Alan de Monceaux was given land at Boynton by Stephen count of Aumale between 1120 and c.1127 (ECY III, No.1327). His successors held lands at Barmston, Lissett, Winkton, all in Holderness, Boynton, Caythorpe and Reighton in Dickering, Sunderlandwick in Hartill in the East Riding, Ugthorpe in the North Riding, all from the count of Aumale, and also some land of the honour of Skipton (ECY VII, pp.284-5). They also held land in Lincolnshire on which the Cistercian priory of Nun Coton was founded and in addition land at Killingholme, Lincolnshire, all part of the Aumale fee. Nun Coton was founded "for the health" of Stephen and Hawisa, the count and countess of Aumale. Branches of the same family held land elsewhere in England of the honour of Eu, and gave their name to Hurstmonceaux (ECY III, No.1329; Mon. Ang. V, p.676; Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, pp.61-2; Loyd, Anglo-Norman Families, pp.66-7).

94. CM I, pp.85-6. Osbert was sheriff of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire and was dead apparently by 1115, the date of the Lindsey Survey. The allegation by the Meaux chronicler that he was a priest before he was a sheriff and that therefore his sons could not inherit is borne out by the records: see Regesta II, No.1930.

95. The Amundeville family is thought to have come from Mondeville near Caen, and its first representative in England was the Domesday tenant Goslan, who held land in Lincolnshire of the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, and was possibly the same as the Gozelin who held of Drogo at Normanby, Lincolnshire, and Wazelin who held Withernwick in Holderness, although these two last places are not subsequently found in the hands of the Amundeville family. The family had many branches and much property in Lincolnshire and elsewhere. Two brothers of the Amundeville family witnessed 20 of William le Gros's charters, and the family held land in Barrow on Humber for one knight's fee and in Carlton le Moorland of the count of Aumale. Clay, "The Family of Amundeville", Lincs. Arch. & Arch. Soc. Report III, pp.109-36; Loyd, Anglo-Norman Families, pp.3-4.

The Blossevilles came from Aumale, where Jordan witnessed a charter of Count William le Gros in 1166 (Semichon, Aumale I, unnumbered plate, see

95 cont'd appendix A, No.50). He also witnessed two other charters of le Gros. He was sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1157-8 (PR 4 Henry II), held lands in Surrey and died 1167 (PR 13 Henry II, p.203). His daughter Hawisa occurs in the early 13th century as a tenant of Countess Hawisa in Normandy (Archives de France S 5205 No.22) and in Halsham in Holderness (HUL DDCC 43/6 and BL Add. MS 26736, f.77). The Foliot family's place of origin is unknown. The family was established in Holderness by 1130; William Foliot married a Holderness heiress and his heirs inherited lands in Bewholme and Nunkeeling in Holderness and in Saxby and Hackthorn of the count of Aumale's fee in Lincolnshire (Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, pp.33-5). Two brothers of the family witnessed 14 of William le Gros's charters. Three members of the Fribois family witnessed William le Gros's charters; their place of origin is unknown. Between 1160 and 1172 Odo de Fribois's daughter Basilia was concerned in the grant to Meaux abbey of Wyke and Myton, land on which Edward I later founded Kingston upon Hull (Frost, Notices of Hull, pp.7-9 and facsimile). The family was holding land in Lincolnshire of the Aumale fee between 1148 and 1154, when North Ormsby priory, a Gilbertine house, was founded by Gilbert de Ormsby, describing Odo de Fribois and the count of Aumale as his lords (Mon. Ang. VI, p.963). The Fribois were in Holderness by at least 1175 (EYC III, No.1356) where they held widespread lands in 15 vills, including the borough of Skipsea. The Mainers family, who witnessed charters of William le Gros, were given land in Skeffling by le Gros between 1165 and 1179 (EYC III, No.1400). For the Biset family and their career in the king's household, see above, p. 78.

- 96. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime I H I No.1.
- 97. Bodleian, Dods. MS 100, f.85. See also above, pp. 109-10.
- 98. Rot. Hund. I, p.260; EYC III, No.1311.
- 99. EYC VII, No.41; BL Harl. Ch. 50 D 39.



100. Based on the inquest of c.1260, printed in Kirkby's Quest, pp.371-7.

<u>English place-names</u>	<u>French place-names</u>	<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Others</u>
Meaux*	Scures	Butler	Sottewain
Owstwick	St Quintin	Serjeant	Berchaud
Pickering	Areyns	Carpenter	Whittik
Goxhill	Fauconberg	Constable	Haukyn
Sherburn	Fribois	Chamberlain	Passemer
Ros**	Brus	(de Camera)	Crochowe
Merston	Monceaux		Monte
Ulrome	Lascelles		West
Sutton	Stuteville		
Wyton	St Martin		
Preston			
Etherdwick			
Danthorpe			
Hollym			
Thorne			
Thorpe			
Pattishall			

\*From the village of this name in Holderness, and not from the French town of the same name: Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, p.59n.

\*\*From the village of Roos in Holderness.

101. Although Fulk de Oyry did apparently achieve the holding of this amount of land it seems to have been quickly dissipated: see pp. 126-7.
102. The account of this family is based (except where otherwise stated) on Complete Peerage V, pp.267-9; Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, pp.26-7.
103. Girý, "Les Chatelains de St Omer", Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes XXXV (1874), pp.341-3.
104. EYC I, No.540.
105. See below, p.188.
106. EYC III, Nos. 1331-4.
107. EYC I, p.420, prints a genealogical table showing these complicated relationships.
108. CM I, p.222.
109. EYC III, No.1312.

110. William of Tyre II, pp.213,218.
111. Rot. Cur. Reg. I, p.41.
112. Lincolnshire Fines 1199-1215, No.338.
113. CM I, p.303.
114. Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-9, p.xxiv; Foss, The Judges of England II, pp.324-5; DNB, under "Falconbridge".
115. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.333.
116. PR 3 Henry III, R 15 m.2d.
117. BL Harl. Ch. 50 D 39.
118. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.449.
119. PRO Assize R. 1045, m.19.
120. PRO Assize R. 1042, m.16; Pat. R. 1225-32, p.219; Cl.R. 1227-31, p.334.
121. Gray's Reg. p.265.
122. Kirkby's Quest, pp.372,373.
123. See below, pp. 203-4.
124. EYC III No.1324; Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, ff.251,258.
125. PRO Assize R. 1042, m.16
126. YI I, p.149.
127. The account of the St Quintin family is based (except where otherwise stated) on ERAST X, pp.19-24; Complete Peerage XI, p.368; Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, pp.79-80.
128. Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-9, No.1294.
129. EYC IX, p.31; YI I, pp.101,202.
130. CM I, pp.362-3.
131. CRR I, p.457; Yorks. Fines John, p.76.
132. HMC Rutland IV, p.5.
133. Rot. Cur. Reg. I, p.38; CRR IV, p.220; Yorks Fines John, p.169; EYC IX, pp.27-32.
134. EYC IX, pp.32-3.
135. Rot. Prest. p.200.
136. CRR XI, No.2686.
137. CRR XI, No.2686.
138. Bodleian, Dods. MS 117, f.53. The will of Alexander de St Quintin of Harpham, a cousin of the Brandesburton St Quintins, made in 1257, has survived and is printed in ERAST XXI, pp.70-2. An interesting list of legacies includes horses, 12 silver plates and silver cups, basins, gold rings, rings with sapphires and emeralds, deal, oak and ash tables, a service book and a psalter, a bed, arms and armour, green, russet and furred clothes, and a book called Agulant (a chanson de geste about Charlemagne).

139. The account of the Ros family is based (except where otherwise stated) on Complete Peerage XI, pp.90-7; EYC X; Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, p.78.
140. YAJ XXIX, p.396.
141. See Appendix B, p.320.
142. See Appendix B, p.321.
143. PR 4 Henry II, pp.140,146.
144. EYC X; see family trees in EYC X, p.6.
145. Howden III, p.89 and Benedict II, p.149.
146. Rot. Scacc. Norm. I, p.127; II, p.lxxvii.
147. Holt, The Northerners, pp.24-6 et passim.
148. Yorks. Fines John, p.146.
149. Holt, The Northerners, p.33; Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.149.
150. Gough, Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain I i p.23. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: London I, p.316 calls the effigy "The so-called Robert de Ros d. 1227". It is illustrated in Worley, The Church of the Knights Templars in London, p.36. He believes from the heraldry and the armour that it is Robert Furfan but other later members of the same family have been suggested.
151. Yorks. Fines John, p.76; Bodleian, Dods. MS 117, f.53; Kirkby's Quest, p.374.
152. Rot. Hund. I, p.106.
153. See pp. 100, 140, 154-5.
154. Holt, The Northerners, pp.42 and 56n.
155. Holt, The Northerners, p.33.
156. Rot. Hund. I, p.106; Quo Warranto, p.193.
157. See pp. 119-27.
158. CM I, pp.85-6. Osbert was dead by the time of the Lindsey Survey: see Regesta II, No.1930.
159. Because Osbert was a priest his sons could not inherit without paying a fine to the king, and they could not raise the money.
160. CM I, p.86. Keyingham subsequently remained in the count's demesne.
161. EYC III, No.1355.
162. EYC III, No.1345; the original at Bradford, Cartwright Hall, Spencer Stanhope No.10.
163. HUL, DDCC 112/111.
164. Rot. Litt. Cl. II, p.172; see Powicke, "Distraint of Knighthood and military obligation under Henry III", Speculum XXV (1950), pp.457-70.
165. Shirley, Royal Letters I, p.457.

166. For the land held of the archbishop of Rouen, see p. 23 . For the North Riding lands, see Kirkby's Quest, p.144 and EYC I, pp.490-1. The West Riding lands are named in a fine of 1240 (Yorks. Fines 1232-46, p.64).
167. Many of these tenancies can be traced through the Brid. Charty.
168. D'Orsay, The Humber Ferries.
169. F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, p.152.
170. EYC III, No.1379; CM I, p.77.
171. EYC III, No.1370; BL Otto C viii, f.67.
172. EYC III, No.1397.
173. EYC III, No.1326.
174. CM I, pp.85-6.
175. See below, appendix A. Only two are originals (nos.9,14 ). One of those originals deals with rents and is perhaps not strictly speaking an enfeoffment. In addition two charters of "Count William" cannot be assigned to any particular count (nos. 53,55).
176. EYC III, No.1311.
177. Kal. Inv. Exch. p.75; YAS MS 321.
178. BL Harl. Ch. 50 D 39.
179. EYC VII, No.41
180. F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p.629.
181. EYC III, No.1311.
182. EYC III, No.1400.
183. HUL DDCC 45/1.
184. Bodleian, Dods. MS 100, f.85; BL Harl. MS 3660, f.139d; Harl. MS 1985.
185. EYC III, No.1379.
186. EYC III, No.1395.
187. YAJ XXXIX, p.342.
188. EYC III, Nos. 1405, 1406; in Dringhoe, where the falconer was granted 2 carucates, there were 9 carucates at the end of the 13th century: Kirkby's Quest, p.372.
189. Kal. Inv. Exch. p.75; YAS MS 321 (Leeds).
190. BL Harl. Ch. 50 D 39; EYC VII, No.41.
191. EYC III, No.1400; for castle ward see below, pp.212-4.
192. Leeds, YAS MS 321, unnumbered pages, sub Twyer and Preston.
193. Bodleian, Dods. MS 100, f.85; EYC III, No.1379.
194. EYC III, No.1395; cf inquest of c.1260, Kirkby's Quest, p.372.
195. HUL, DDCC 45/1 and BL Harl. Ch. 50 D 39.
196. BL Harl. MS 3660, f.139d.
197. YAJ XXXIX, p.342.



198. EYC III, Nos. 1405, 1406.
199. Kirkby's Quest, p.372.
200. EYC III, No.1311.
201. Because the document reads as if the arable is the most important part and the rest mere "appurtenances".
202. D. and C. York, QQ44, p.7, a survey made in 1278, in a book of transcripts made from a cartulary belonging to Sir Thomas Phillipps. On the land at Eske, which belonged to the archbishop, 12 bovates = 1 carucate.
203. CM I, pp.220-1; 164-5. The two bovates of land at Aldburgh, which Alan de Scruteville was given before 1150 by the count in exchange for wood at Routh (PRO Assize R. 1042, m.13) was later calculated at 60 acres (CM I, p.83). At Newton in Holderness in 1276 each of 12 bovates contained 12 acres (YI I, p.171). In Lincolnshire in the 12th century the average bovat contained 20 acres: not all did, but 20-acre bovates are found in all parts of Lincolnshire. The carucate in Lincolnshire contained therefore 160 acres (F.M. Stenton, Danelaw Documents, pp.xxviii - xxix).
204. EYC VII, No.41. On the vagueness of enfeoffments, see also Plucknett, Legislation of Edward I, pp.51-2.

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205. Service in the field of the counts of Aumale and their knights

<u>Date</u>	<u>Campaign</u>	<u>Served or paid scutage</u>	<u>Source</u>
1172	Ireland	scutage for 20 fees	<u>PR 18 H II</u>
1190	Wales	scutage for 20 fees	<u>PR 2 Rich.</u>
1194	Normandy & Richard's ransom	served	<u>PR 6 Rich.</u>
1196	Normandy (2nd & 3rd armies)	served	<u>PR 8 &amp; 9 Rich.</u>
1199	Normandy (1st John scutage)	served	<u>PR 1 John</u>
1201	(2nd John scutage)	served	<u>PR 3 John</u>
1202	(3rd John scutage)	served	<u>PR 4 John</u>
1203	(4th John scutage)	served	<u>PR 5 John</u>
1204	(5th John scutage)	served	<u>PR 6 John</u>
1205	Normandy (6th John scutage)	scutage for 10 fees	<u>PR 7 John</u>
1206	(7th John scutage)	served	<u>PR 8 John</u>
1209	Scotland	scutage for 20 fees	<u>PR 13 John</u>
1210	Ireland	served (at least 6 kts)	<u>Rot. Lib.</u>
1211	Wales	scutage for 20 fees	<u>PR 13 John</u>
1214	Poitou	served (4 knights)	<u>PR 16 John</u>
1217	(1st H III scutage)	scutage for 20 fees	<u>PR 3 H III</u>
1221	Bytham	scutage for 20 fees	<u>PR 10 H III</u>
1223	Kerry (Montgomery)	served	<u>Cl.R.1227-31</u>
1224	Bedford	served	<u>PR 14 H III</u>
1228	Kerry(Montgomery)	served	<u>PR 14 H III</u>
1229	Brittany	served (count + 4 kts)	Sanders p.122*
1232	Wales	served	<u>Cl.R.1231-4</u>
1242	Poitou	served	<u>Cal.Pat.R.1232-47</u>
1245	Wales	served	<u>Cal.Pab.R.1232-47</u>
1257	Wales	count sent his knights but was sick himself	Mitchell** p.285 n.140

For all these campaigns, see Mitchell, Studies in Taxation, and Sanders, Feudal Military Service.

\* Sanders, Feudal Military Service.

\*\* Mitchell, Studies in Taxation.

206. See above, p. 29.
207. Ailred of Rievaulx, "Battle of the Standard", in Howlett (ed) Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I (RS) III, p.182; Leadman, Battles Fought in Yorkshire.
208. Benedict I, p.47; Diceto, p.373; Eyton. Itin. Henry II, p.175.
209. PR 18 Henry II, p.52.
210. Benedict II, pp.110,120; Howden III, pp.36,63; Wendover, p.181; PR 5 Richard I, pp.37,166.
211. See above, note 205.
212. Rot. Cur. Reg. I, p.274; Rot. Prest., p.224; for Fulk, see pp. 119-27
213. Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-9, p.218; Rot. Cur. Reg. II, p.2. The  $\frac{1}{4}$  fee was the subject of many lawsuits: Rot. Cur. Reg. I, pp.77,78; CRR I, p.17; Rot. Ob. p.43; CRR V, p.240; Yorks. Fines John, p.100,136; Lincs. Fines II, p.63.
214. CRR IV, pp.11,17,214.
215. Rot. Prest. pp.200,201,213,214,215,223,224,226. For the St Quintins, see above, pp.188-9. Walter de Ver's widow claimed dower in many places in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, including Sproatley in Holderness held of the count of Aumale. His son was at this time in the custody of Fulk de Ory (CRR VII, pp.4,5,8,18,31,125,130,251 etc.). Ralf Gernun is not known to have held English lands of the count of Aumale, nor is Eborard de Beiver, but a William de Beuver held  $\frac{1}{6}$  of a knight's fee in Lincolnshire of the count in 1212 (Book of Fees I, p.185).
216. Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England, pp.65-6; Chew, Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-Chief, pp.30,32-4,122-7; Powicke, Thirteenth Century, pp.33-6; Sanders, Feudal military service in England, pp.33-49.
217. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.123; Ault, Private Jurisdiction in England, pp.69-71; Chew, Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-Chief, pp.123-4.
218. Paris, Chron. Major VI, pp.437-9; Chew, Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-Chief, pp.126-7.
219. See p.152.
220. PR 16 John, p.152.
221. CRR XIII, No.1573.
222. Rot. Litt. Pat. p.79.
223. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.141.
224. CRR XIII, No.1573; PR 16 John, p.95.
225. Only Fauconberg sued the men of Holderness. Coleville held no Holderness lands, but was tenant of the count in the area around Castle Bytham: Fribois was the tenant in Holderness but held more lands in Lincolnshire. The Vavasours were tenants of the Skipton fee, and

- 225 cont'd although they occur very rarely in the Holderness archives, they do not seem to have held any substantial amount of land there (Rot. Fin. II, p.528; Reg. Wickwane, p.210; EYC VII; Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, pp.7n,95).
226. CRR XIII, Nos. 1573, 2118, 2152, 2739; the records at the beginning of the 13th century give no clear indication of how many military tenants there were altogether in Holderness at this time: by 1260 there were about 40, but further sub-infeudation had undoubtedly taken place in the course of the 13th century.
227. CRR XIII, No.2118.
228. In 1205 John had summoned 1 knight in 10 to the army, the other 9 to equip him and pay him 2s. daily for his maintenance: Sanders, Feudal military service, pp.56-7.
229. Holt, The Northerners, pp.18-19, 37.
230. Holt, The Northerners, p.101.
231. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.519.
232. On reduced quotas, see Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England, pp.65-6; Chew, Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-Chief, pp.30, 32-4, 122-7; Powicke, Thirteenth Century, pp.33-6; Sanders, Feudal military service, pp.32-44; Hollister, Military Organization, pp.101-8.
233. For Robert de Ros, see above, pp. 190-1.
234. For Fulk de Ory, see pp. 119-27.
235. The long lists of reversi are entered on the close rolls in Rot. Litt. Cl. I, pp.168,204,244,254,300,308-9,312,318,323,325,327,331-3,337-9,374, 376. Other references to the rebels are Rot. Obl. p.574; PR 3 Henry II, R 15 m.1d.
236. Rot. Litt. Pat. p.165.
237. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, pp.224,245.
238. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, pp.229,256,263,300.
239. Wendover IV, p.68. After Bytham 7 carts were hired to take the prisoners to the Tower of London; the largest group of prisoners mentioned is 13 (unnamed); Rot. Litt. Cl. I, pp.451,453,455. Perhaps not very many knights were involved, because William de Breauté held Bedford castle for an 11-week siege in 1224 with only 11 knights (Powicke, Thirteenth Century, p.27).
240. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.449.
241. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, pp.254,462.
242. Rot. Litt. Pat. pp.282,284.
243. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.475; PR 10 Henry III, p.22-3; Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire 1218-1219, Nos. 519,1100.



244. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.455.
245. Roles Gascons I, p.404.
246. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.449.
247. See note 205 above.
248. Pat. R. 1225-32, p.358; Sanders, Feudal military service in England, p.122.
249. Dunstable Annals, p.63; Paris, Chron. Major IV, p.174; Hist. Ang. II, p.446.
250. Paris, Hist. Ang. II, p.446.
251. Cal. i.p.m. IV, No.44.
252. EYC III, Nos.1334,1335.
253. EYC III, No.1364.
254. EYC III, No.1355.
255. Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, p.262.
256. See above, pp. 182-3.
257. EYC III, No.1311.
258. EYC III, No.1409; Yorks. Fines 1246-72, p.43. On the other hand a Yorkshire charter of the Tison fee lists rights in wood, turf etc. as appurtenant to a knight's fee, implying that these may have been assessed: EYC XII, No.56.
259. Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, pp.238-9. Thorne (ed.) Bracton, De Legibus II, pp.114-17.
260. CM I, p.97.
261. EYC III, No.1349.
262. YI I, p.154. For other examples of forinsec services, see EYC III, No.1355; CM I, pp.160, 366 and II, p.44; YI I, p.154; Yorks. Fines 1218-31, p.114; Yorks. Fines John, pp.76-7.
263. CM I, p.102.
264. Yorks. Fines John, pp.109,119.
265. EYC III, No.1332.
266. EYC III, No.1334.
267. EYC III, No.1364.
268. EYC III, No.1409.
269. CM I, p.160; other examples of this are CM I, p.366 and II, p.44.
270. CM I, p.162.
271. Frost, Notices of Hull, pp.7-9 and facsimile.
272. EYC III, No.1332.
273. HMC Portland II, p.3.
274. EYC III, Nos. 1334,1335.
275. Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.250; one witness is Henry le Moigne, William de Forz's steward, who was dead by 1251.

276. Yorks. Fines 1246-72, p.111.
277. YI I, p.154.
278. Brid. Charty, p.316.
279. Johnson, Dialogus de Scaccario, p.52.
280. CM I, pp.362-3.
281. HUL DDCC 112/111, p.23.
282. CM II, p.39.
283. Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.257.
284. Thorne (ed.), Bracton, De Legibus II, p.116.
- 285.. See pp. 142-7.
286. CM I, p.89; I'Anson, "Skipsea Castle", YAJ XXIV, p.359. See also above, note 25. The castle was mentioned in 1162 (EYC III, No.1307).
287. PRO, Min. Acc. 11/730. Burstwick was probably a fortified manor house, and is never called a castle in the records. William le Gros issued a charter there, c.1147-68 ;EYC III, No.1340. There were other Aumale castles at Castle Bytham in S. Lincolnshire, where there are still extensive earthworks of a motte and bailey castle (see plate 7 ), at Skipton and at Cockermouth (part of the inheritance of William le Gros's wife) and at Aumale itself. There may also have been a castle at Aldbrough (see above, note 25). In the reign of Stephen William le Gros began the building of Scarborough castle, on the headland where in an earlier age a Roman signal station had stood, but the castle was quickly taken from William by Henry II. Castle Bytham, Skipton and Cockermouth also were owed castle guard by the count's tenants from the surrounding lands: for the last two see EYC VII, pp.96,98,107-8,109.
288. For castle guard see F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, pp.190-215; Painter, "Castle-Guard", AHR XL (1935), pp.450-9 (reprinted in Cazel, Feudalism and Liberty, pp.144-56); Round, "Castle Guard", Archaeological Journal LIX (1902), pp.144-59.
289. Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, p.279.
290. EYC III, No.1400.
291. Hollister, Military Organization, p.143, quotes three.
292. HUL DDCC 112/111, p.23; YI I, p.83.
293. PRO Min. Acc. 1078/11; YI I, p.83. For collection by the sub-bailiffs, see pp 102-4.
294. In addition to the works quoted in note 288 above, see Painter, English Feudal Barony, pp.45-7, 130-4.
295. Painter, English Feudal Barony, p.46; Magna Carta, c.49.

296. Leeds, YAS MS 321, sub Twyer.
297. Leeds, YAS MS 321, sub Preston.
298. HUL, DDCC 135/1.
299. Bradford, Cartwright Hall, Spencer Stanhope No.96; Brid. Charty, p.322.
300. In 1281 it was 59s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (PRO Min. Acc. 1089/19). In Countess Isabella's account rolls 15s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. was paid in 1268-9 and 31s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in 1269-70 (PRO Min. Acc. 1078/11 and 13). The smaller amounts are because not all the wapentake was in Isabella's hands but only a portion by way of dower.
301. PRO Min. Acc. 1078/11.
302. PRO Rentals and Surveys 11/730.
303. Greenway, Charters of the Honour of Mowbray, p.1x; F.M. Stenton, English Feudalism, pp.208-9; Painter, "Castle-Guard", AHR XL (1935), pp.450-9.
304. Painter, "Castle-Guard", AHR XL (1935), pp.450-9; Round, "Castle Guard", Archaeological Journal LIX (1902), p.148.
305. CM II, p.39.
306. Brid. Charty, p.311.
307. CRR XIII, No.625.
308. HUL, DDCC App C p.10 (b), a late 13th-cent. deed. Such notifications, or perhaps it is the survivals of such notifications, are rare.
309. Yorks. Fines 1246-72, p.171.
310. Rot. Litt. Pat. p.122.
311. EYC III, No.1349, dated 1185-1200. A similar early grant is Brid. Charty, p.316-7, and another is YD IX, p.120.
312. Yorks. Fines John, p.121.
313. Woodbine (ed.) Glanvill, De Legibus, IX 1,2.
314. EYC III, No.1354. Farrer dates this too early, the occurrence of Rannulf the sheriff suggests an early 13th-century date. The later history of the land, in BL Add. MS 26736 f.88 etc. shows the land to be Newton Constable.
315. EYC III, No.1402.
316. BL Add. Ch. 5723.
317. In 1289-90 Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, was created lord of Holderness. He came to Meaux and stayed at the abbey for three days, and the abbot did homage to the duke for lands held of the lordship of Holderness. At a later date, the same duke refused to accept the homage of a newly elected abbot (CM III, pp.219-22, 240). As this is not commented upon by the chronicler as unusual, or as an abuse of privilege, it seems probable that the lords of Holderness always received homage from the abbot of Meaux.

318. See 3rd paragraph, below.
319. CRR IV, p.220.
320. HUL, DDCC App C p.23(b).
321. Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, pp.296-307.
322. Jolliffe, Constitutional History of Medieval England, pp.162n,206.
323. See above, p. 57.
324. Cl.R. 1242-7, p.337.
325. Brid. Charty, pp.343-4.
326. HUL, DDCC 112/111, p.23. Count William de Forz III owed relief of £100 in 1241, on the only recorded occasion a relief was paid by the counts, although 100 marks of this was remitted by the king. William de Forz II was quitclaimed by King John "all the relief which he ought to gave us for having his land" on condition he married Aveline de Munfichet (Rot. Chart. p.201).
327. Bodleian, Dods. MS 100, f.84d; witness Eustace Fitz John was dead by July 1157.
328. CRR I, p.224; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, p.321.
329. PR 31 Henry I, p.29.
330. See pp. 56-7.
331. See pp. 44, 47, 50.
332. Brid. Charty, p.292. A tenant of the count's made a similar quitclaim to Bridlington for land in Holderness, namely "homage, wardship and relief, and all other things that could belong to him or his heirs in the name of lordship", Brid. Charty, p.311.
333. See pp. 219-20.
334. YD VIII, p.74.
335. CRR I, pp.309,317.
336. CM I, p.104; EYC II, No.328.
337. Appleby, Henry II, p.260.
338. Gray's Reg. p.238.
339. Gray's Reg. pp.253,256. Hilton went to the Holy Land with William de Forz II in 1241, see p. 207.
340. CRR XIII, No.171.
341. CM II, p.29.
342. CM II, p.116.



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- 343. CM II, p.88.
- 344. Bradford, Cartwright Hall, Spencer Stanhope No.28.
- 345. See p. 61.
- 346. CRR XIII, Nos. 668,1781; PRO Assize R. 1045, m.19. c.1260 the Ros family still held Marfleet, Kirkby's Quest, p.373.
- 347. CM II, p.102-4.
- 348. CRR XIII, No.625.
- 349. BL Add. MS 26736, f.80. For Fulk see pp. 119-27.
- 350. Gray's Reg. pp.253,256; see Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, pp.320-1.
- 351. PRO Assize R. 1050, m.4.
- 352. PRO Assize R. 1042, mm.2d,15d; Assize R. 1045, m.46; CM I, p.104.
- 353. YI I, p.84.

1. Smith, Place-Names of the ER, pp.14-15.
2. See pp.266-8.
3. Bede, History of the English Church and People, V.2 and V.7.
4. See pp.254-5.
5. Reid, Memoir of Holderness, p.7.
6. More detailed accounts of the geology of Holderness are given in Reid, Memoir of Holderness: Ordnance Survey, Geological Survey of England and Wales 1882-4; VCH Yorkshire I: T. Sheppard, The Making of East Yorkshire; Wilson, East Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; Melmore, The Glacial Geology of Holderness and the Vale of York; Fenton, "An Introduction to the Geology of Holderness with special reference to the coast", East Yorkshire Field Studies II (1969), pp.1-13.
7. See pp.256-60.
8. See p.257.
9. Approximately 37 miles long: Steers, The Sea Coast, pp.23-4,95.
10. CM II, p.91; III, pp.102-3, 184.
11. See pp. 256-64. Works on the draining of Holderness and the loss of land to the sea include T. Sheppard, Lost Towns of the Yorkshire Coast; Boyle, Lost Towns of the Humber; J. Sheppard, The Draining of the Hull Valley; J. Sheppard, The Draining of South Holderness; D.J. Siddle, "The Rural Economy of Medieval Holderness", Econ. Hist. R. XV (1967), pp.40-45; Harris, The Rural Landscape of the East Riding.
12. The two earliest maps showing buildings in Holderness, as opposed to village names only, are those of Jeffreys (1772) and Tuke (1786); see T. Sheppard, "East Yorkshire History in Plan and Chart", ERAST XIX (1913), pp.40-68. Both these maps are reproduced in that article, on pp.60,63.
13. Harris, The Rural Landscape of the East Riding, pp.11,46.
14. The references for the first occurrences of the names are given in Smith, Place-Names of the ER, pp.20,24,39,79,82. Skipsea was probably in existence soon after the Conquest, because it possesses an 11th-century motte and bailey castle (see p.20) and an 11th-century church (Pevsner, The Buildings of England, Yorkshire: York & the East Riding, p.340). Its omission from Domesday Book is inexplicable, and probably a mistake.
15. Darby and Maxwell, DGNE, p.177 and fig.45.
16. Siddle, "The Rural Economy of Medieval Holderness", Econ. Hist. R. XV (1967), pp.40-45, disputes that these statistics indicate wealth, and suggests that the heavy undrained clays of Holderness would give poor returns except of oats. But evidence from the late 13th century shows that,

- 16 cont'd although the clay was still undrained, many crops other than oats were being grown profitably. See pp.251-2.
17. F.M. Stenton, Danelaw Documents, p.lxi.
18. Beresford, "The Lost Villages of Yorkshire" part II, YAJ XXXVIII (1952), pp.44-70. The names are:  
 Arram in Dunnington, Benningholme, Bewick in Aldbrough, Bonwick in Skipsea, Bond Burstwick, Burton Constable, Camerton in Burstwick, Cleeton in Skipsea, Little Cowden, Danthorpe in Humbleton, Dyke in Lelley, Dowthorpe, Eske, Etherdwick in Aldbrough, Goxhill, Nunkeeling, Meaux, Newton, Nuthill in Burstwick, Pensthorpe in Welwick, Ravenserod, Ringborough, Rowton in Skirlaugh, Skeckling in Burstwick, Skirlington in Atwick, Southorpe in Hornsea, Tansterne in Aldbrough, Totleys in Burstwick, and Winkton near Barmston.
19. These names are given by Smith, Place-Names of the ER, p.xiv. Smaller lost hamlets in Holderness, occurring in the middle ages but subsequently depopulated, are Brackenholme in Leven, Hartburn in Barmston, Hornsea Beck, Newhythe or Hythe in Skipsea, Newlands in Ottringham, Pethyland in Keyingham, Pidsea and Welwick Thorpe. Maps showing the presumed locations of the lost places are included in T. Sheppard, Lost Towns of the Yorkshire Coast and Boyle, Lost Towns of the Humber.
20. Beresford and Hurst, DMV, pp.123-31.
21. Beresford and St Joseph, Medieval England, p.9.
22. CM I, p.80.
23. Mon. Ang. I, p.420.
24. Beresford and St Joseph, Medieval England, p.127.
25. See p.247.
26. See p.244.
27. See p.233.
28. EYC I No.8.
29. See p.174.
30. See pp.250-1.
31. Clifton-Taylor, The Pattern of English Building, p.273.
32. CM I, p.105.
33. Pevsner, The Buildings of England, Yorkshire: York & the East Riding, pp.166-7,220,256,330,357,372.

34. Darby and Maxwell, DGNE, p.195.
35. The free classes of homines and milites are discussed pp.170-4.
36. On the sokeman, see Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, pp.95-109; Vinogradoff, English Society in the 11th Century; F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp.508-11; F.M. Stenton, Manorial Danelaw; F.M. Stenton, Peasantry of Danelaw; Douglas, Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia; Lennard, Rural England; Loyn, Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest.
37. F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p.470.
38. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, p.106.
39. Loyn, Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest, p.329.
40. F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp.510-11.
41. Brooks, DB and the ER, p.22.
42. DB, f.302.
43. DB, f.304.
44. DB, f.323b.
45. For Ulf, see p.172, n.25.
46. DB, f.323b.
47. Manchester, John Rylands Latin MS 221, f.346; the abbot is named as Robert, and is probably Robert de Longchamp 1197-1239, or (less likely) Robert de Harpham, c.1184-1195. On sokemen generally, see D.M. Stenton, English Society in the Early Middle Ages, pp.134-5; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, pp.291-5.
48. Loyn, Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest, pp.328-9; cf Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, p.172.
49. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, pp.95,186; F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp.508-9.
50. DB, f.299; Lennard, Rural England, pp.220-1; Brooks, DB and the ER, pp.23-4.
51. Brooks, DB and the ER, p.23 and n. maintains that "there is abundant proof that the descendants of the Domesday socmen did in fact make numerous grants of small pieces of land to the newly-founded monasteries in the twelfth century" but it is difficult to see how any continuity can be shown between the anonymous sokemen of 1086 and 12th-century donors of monastic land.
52. Loyn, Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest, pp.325-6.
53. Brooks, DB and the ER, pp.30-1.
54. F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p.470.



55. First named in 1260: YI I, p.78.
56. Lennard, Rural England, p.341.
57. For the size of the bovat, see p.243 ff.
58. DB, f.324.
59. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
60. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", YAJ XXXI (1934), p.408n.
61. DB, f.325.
62. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
63. See note 159 below.
64. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
65. CM II, p.141.
66. HUL, DDCC/43/10.
67. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.153, gives examples of the countess of Aumale's villeins trying to escape and being recaptured and fined.
68. CM III, p.124.
69. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730, under Easington: these are in the 1260 survey the only agricultural services specifically mentioned, and probably by this time all other labour services due to the count had been commuted, as they certainly had by the mid 1260s: Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", YAJ XXXI (1934), p.408n.
70. CM II, p.34.
71. CRR V, pp.49,77.
72. BL Harl. Ch. 50 D 39; Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.236d; CM II, p.45.
73. CM I, p.429.
74. Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.243.
75. CM I, pp.221,362.
76. CM I, pp.85-6; EYC III No.1381.
77. BL Add. MS 26736, f.82d.
78. Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, p.429.
79. CM II, p.34.
80. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
81. CM II, p.49.
82. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates of Isabella de Fortibus", YAJ XXXI (1934), p.407; Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, pp.52,152-4.

83. On the interchangeability of the term cottar and bordar, see Lennard, Rural England, p.341 and n.2; also Lennard, "The economic position of the bordars and cottars of Domesday Book", Econ. Jnl. LXI (1951), pp.342-71.
84. Gray's Reg. p.114. It is reasonable to assume that these men were cottars, for in 1260 all the recorded inhabitants of Skeckling were cottars: PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
85. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
86. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
87. Romeyn's Reg. I, p.188.
88. CM II, p.141.
89. The excavation is described briefly by H.C. Jones in "Medieval Britain in 1961", Medieval Archaeology, VI-VII (1962-3), pp.343-45, and in Beresford and Hurst, DMV, pp.96,125-6,166-7.
90. Beresford and Hurst, DMV, p.122.

91.

Sizes of tofts in the 12th and 13th centuries in Holderness

Date	size	place	reference
12th cent.	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	Paull Haven	<u>EYC</u> III No.1309
12th cent.	4 acres	Halsham	HUL DDCC/43/2
12th cent.	1 acre $3\frac{3}{4}$ perch	Beeford	<u>CM</u> I, p.224
12th cent.	2 acres	Frismarsh	<u>EYC</u> III No.1403
1197-1210	1 acre	Hartburn	<u>CM</u> I, p.310
early 13th cent.	1 acre	Cowden	BL Add. Ch.5724
early 13th cent.	1 acre	Paull	BL Add. MS 26736, f.77d
1221-35	1 acre	Reedmere	<u>CM</u> I, p.418
13th cent.	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	Ottringham moor	<u>Brid. Charty</u> p.330
13th cent.	2 acres	Sunderlandwick	BL Otto C viii, f.89
13th cent.	3 acres	Skirlington	Bodleian Rawl. MS B 455, f.224

92. HUL, DDCC/43/3
93. CM II, p.257, at Cranswick, just outside the western edge of Holderness.
94. Brid. Charty, p.330.
95. Bodleian, Dods. MS 95, f.109; CM II, pp.39-40.
96. CM I, p.168; Frost, Notices of Hull, pp.7-9.

97. HUL, DDCC App C 6 (b).
98. See p.258.
99. Gray's Reg. p.238; Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654.
100. Bosville Charters, No.1; Brid. Charty, p.314; Yorks. Fines John, p.165; CM I, pp.160,299,307.
101. BL Add. MS 26736, f.79d.
102. An example of a toft granted separately is YD I, p.36; a toft and croft granted without land, YD I, p.143.
103. Beresford, Lost Villages of England, plates 6,11 and 13, which show five East Riding villages; also Beresford and St Joseph, Medieval England, pp.62-4.
104. Beresford, "The Lost Villages of Yorkshire" Part II, YAJ XXXVIII (1952), pp.57-70.
105. EYC III No.1328.
106. EYC III No.1366; Brid. Charty, pp.327-8.
107. BL Add. MS 26736, f.75d; CM I, p.219; BL Lansdowne Ch.391.
108. YD VIII, p.120.
109. Brid. Charty, p.332.
110. Bishop, "Assarting and the open fields", Econ. Hist. R. VI (1935), pp.13-29.
111. Harris, Open Fields, p.5; Harris, Rural Landscape of the East Riding, p.40, fig. 12, showing old enclosure in Holderness.
112. Yorks. Fines 1218-31, p.114.
113. HUL, DDCC/43/6.
114. CM I, pp.305-6.
115. CM II, p.94.
116. YD VIII, p.4.
117. Brid. Charty, pp.334-5,336.
118. CM I, p.307; II, p.32.
119. CM II, p.11.
120. HMC Hastings I, p.161.
121. HUL, DDCC/93/1.
122. CM I, p.86.
123. CM I, pp.165,224; II, pp.47-8.
124. Brid. Charty, p.317.
125. BL Otto C viii, f.89. Harris, Rural Landscape of the East Riding, p.45, fig. 14, illustrates enclosure in the East Riding from the 16th century on.
126. HUL, DDCC/43/10; CM II, pp.11,86,94.

127. CM I, p.309.
128. These papers were used extensively by Denholm-Young in "Yorkshire Estates", YAJ XXXI (1934), and Seignorial Administration.
129. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730. The text printed in YI I, pp.77-84, contains many inaccuracies and omissions.
130. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.59.
131. See p.176.
132. See pp.208-20.
133. Greenway, Charters of the Honour of Mowbray, p.xliv.
134. EYC III No.1304.
135. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
136. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730; YI I, p.79. See also Postan, "The chronology of labour services", TRHS 4th ser. XX (1937), pp.169-93.
137. BL Harl. Ch. 50 D 39.
138. Yorks. Fines 1218-31, p.114.
139. EYC III No.1304.
140. EYC III No.1308.
141. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p58.
142. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.59.
143. PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/8, mm.2-3d, account of Alan the Stockman.
144. YI I, p.269.
145. PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/8, mm.2-3d.
146. PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/7.
147. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730. Easington windmill, worth 26s. p.a.; Keyingham, 20s.; Kilnsea, 20s.; Ravenser Odd, 24s.; Owthorne and Withernsea, 20s.; Cleeton, 40s.
148. Cal. Inq. Misc. I, No.1734; BL Add. MS 26736, f.52d.
149. EYC III, No.1304.
150. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates of Isabella de Fortibus", YAJ XXXI (1934), p.409. On the biographical details of Walter, see Oschinsky, Walter of Henley, pp.145-8, and Denholm-Young, "Walter of Henley", Medievalia et Humanistica XIV (1962), pp.61-8. Miss Oschinsky thinks it is likely that the author of the treatise on husbandry was the same as the Walter of Henley who helped Isabella de Fortibus in the running of her estates.



151. Some of the many works on open field villages are: Gray, English Field Systems; Orwin and Orwin, The Open Fields; Kosminsky, Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the thirteenth century; Lennard, Rural England 1086-1135; Bennett, Life on the English Manor; Ault, Open Field Farming in Medieval England; Thirsk, "The Common Fields", Past and Present XXIX (1964), pp.3-25; Baker and Butlin, Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles.
152. See p.180.
153. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, p.436; Sheppard in Baker and Butlin, Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles, p.174.
154. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, pp.422-62, discusses at length the problems of land measurement. See Oschinsky, Walter of Henley, pp.444-5; Ault, Open-Field Farming in Medieval England, pp.21-2.
155. HUL, DDCC/43/5.
156. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
157. D. & C. York, QQ 44, p.7.
158. J. Sheppard in Baker and Butlin, Studies of Field Systems of the British Isles, p.174.

159.

Place	No. of Bondmen	No. with 2 bovates	No. with $1\frac{1}{2}$ bovates	No. with 1 bovat	No. with $\frac{3}{4}$ bovat	No. with $\frac{1}{2}$ bovat
Easington	20	1	0	14	1	4
Dimlington	7	1	1	5	0	0
Preston	38	17	0	21	0	0
Keyingham	31	0	4	22	0	5

Out of 96 bondmen, 62 held 1 bovat (based in PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730)

160. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
161. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730; J. Sheppard, in Baker and Butlin, Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles, pp.170-2; CM II, p.81.
162. Cf Beresford, Lost Villages of England, p.47; according to Harris, "Land and Oxcang in the East Riding of Yorkshire", YAJ XLI (1955), p.533, the bovat in the East Riding most commonly contained 15 acres.

163. "Furlong" could also be used for individual strips, as well as for the groups of strips: Tate, English Village Community, p.188.
164. Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.13.
165. Gray's Reg. p.114.
166. Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.13.
167. See for example BL Add. MS 26736, f.80.
168. Yorks. Fines 1218-31, p.114.
169. HUL, DDCC/43/4 and DDCC/43/6.
170. BL Add. Ch. 5729.
171. Göransson, "Regular Open-Field Pattern in England and Scandinavian Solskifte", Geografiska Annaler H. 1-2, 1961. For regular patterns of strip holding see also Beresford, "Glebe Terriers and Open Field, Yorkshire", YAJ XXXVII (1950), pp.325-68.
172. Beresford, Lost Villages of England, pp.43-53 and illustrations there; Bowen, Ancient Fields, especially pp.8,10,34,40-50.
173. By 1700 the two-field rotation was still almost universal in Holderness: Harris, Open Fields, p.4; Harris, Rural Landscape of the East Riding, p.41.
174. Dringhoe CM I, p.224.  
 Arnold CM I, p.305.  
 Winkton ERAST XVIII (1911), p.58.  
 Great Cowden BL Add. Ch. 5723.  
 Rimswell HMC Hastings I, pp.161-2.  
 Waxholme HUL, DDCC/99/1.  
 Rise CM II, pp.33,36.  
 Sproatley HUL, DDCC/88/1.  
 Ottringham Brid. Charty, p.333. A field called the Upper Field in Ottringham is also mentioned 1286-1310, CM II, p.206.  
 Sutton HMC Hastings I, p.170.  
 Brandesburton BL Add. MS 26736, f.82d.  
 Long Riston Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.13.  
 Preston Bradford, Spencer Stanhope Nos.76,77; Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654;  
 YAS Leeds, Grantley MS A 87.  
 Etherdwick Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654.  
 Hilston HUL, DDCC Box 66; BL Add. MS 26736, f.75.  
 Where only <sup>one</sup> field is named, as at Rise, Sutton and Brandesburton, this is not necessarily evidence that there were only two fields in the village as there may have been more.

175. HUL, DDCC App. C 4(b), 11(b), 19(a), 26(a), DDCC/43/3, DDCC/43/5.
176. Harris, Open Fields, pp.6-7; Harris, Rural Landscape of the East Riding, pp.24-5.
177. EYC I No.8.
178. EYC III No.1355.
179. EYC III No.1403.
180. Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654.
181. HUL, DDCC App. C 41(b); DDCC/40/2; BL ADD MS 26736, ff.74d,83,89d; Bodleian, Dods. MS 7 ff.246d,249d,257; BL Otto C viii, f.93d.
182. BL Add. MS 26736, f.83. Traces of this infield-outfield system have been found in Northumberland and Cumberland, and in Scotland and Wales it was the normal system. Gray, English Field Systems, chapter VI; Butlin, "Northumberland Field Systems", Agric. Hist. R. XII (1964), pp.99-120.
183. Baker and Butlin, Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles, synthesises thinking current in the early 1970s.
184. J. Thirsk, "The Common Fields", Past and Present XXIX (1964), pp.3-25.
185. J. Sheppard, in Baker and Butlin, Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles, pp.185-6.
186. CM I, pp.79-80.
187. Brid. Charty, p.303; HUL, DDCC/43/4, 43/5, 43/6; these are spelt as recorded in the charters. It is not always clear if the names relate to flatts or to strips, because "cultura" could be used for both. Of these names only Dudham survives into the 19th century to be recorded on the tithe award map, at Halsham vicarage.
188. Brid. Charty pp.327-43; BL Add. MS 26736, f.80.
189. BL Add. MS 26736, f.80.
190. Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.22. As a selion was less than an oxgang or bovat, this selion was probably only part of "Asketines oxse gang".
191. Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.251.
192. Brid. Charty, pp.334,336.
193. Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654; Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.77.
194. HUL, DDCC/43/2. A "stang" is a measure of land equivalent to a pole.
195. HUL, DDRI Box 2.
196. HUL, DDCC/43/16; Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654.
197. HUL, DDCC App. C 16(d).
198. Eyre, "The Curving Plough Strip and its historical implications", Agric. Hist. Review III (1955), pp.80-94; Ault, Open-Field Farming in Medieval England, p.22; Sheppard, in Baker and Butlin, Studies of

- 198 cont'd Field Systems in the British Isles, p.169; Bowen, Ancient Fields, shows clearly how the ridges were built up (figs. 1 and 5, pp.8,34). There has been much controversy about the antiquity of ridge and furrow, summarised with references in Baker and Butlin, op. cit., pp.34-5. There are aerial photographs of ridge and furrow in Beresford and St Joseph, Medieval England, pp.26-40. Ridge and furrow can be seen in the aerial photograph of Meaux abbey, plate 3.
199. For an example of an eight-oxen team in the 12th century in Holderness, see EYC III No.1308.
200. BL Add. MS 26736, f.91.
201. Darby and Maxwell, DGNE, p.208; Brooks, DB and the ER, pp.33-4.
202. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
203. Yorks. Fines John, p.136; CM I, p.171.
204. Yorks. Fines Richard, p.177; Yorks. Fines 1232-46, p.7.
205. EYC III No.1401.
- 206.

Enclosed meadows in Holderness

Date 1st mentioned	village	reference
1202	Tunstall	<u>Yorks. Fines John</u> , p.12
1208	Ottringham	<u>Yorks. Fines John</u> , p.136
1217-1218	Sutton	BL Add. MS 26736, f.90
early 13th cent.	Rimswell	<u>HMC Hastings</u> I, p.161
c.1250	Paull	BL Add. MS 26736, f.52d
mid 13th cent.	Marfleet	Leeds, YAS MS 321 <u>sub</u> Marfleet
mid 13th cent.	Danthorpe	Leeds, YAS MS 321 <u>sub</u> Marfleet
1276	Out Newton	<u>YI</u> I, p.171
late 13th cent.	Wawne	Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.96
207.	Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.76.	
208.	<u>Mon. Ang.</u> VI ii, p.654.	
209.	Wilkinson, <u>Agricultural Revolution in the East Riding</u> , p.5; Tate, <u>English Village Community</u> , pp.32-4; Harris, <u>Open Fields</u> , pp.11-12.	
210.	<u>CM</u> II, p.87; Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.236d; BL Add. MS 26736, f.58.	
211.	<u>CM</u> I, pp.79-80.	
212.	<u>CM</u> II, p.39.	
213.	<u>CM</u> II, p.213 in Arnold, Ryhill and West Hatfield: <u>CM</u> II, p.142 in Sutton.	



214. Harris, Open Fields, p.13.
215. Yorks. Fines John, p.136.
216. Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.236d; CM I, p.414.
217. CM II, p.116.
218. HUL, DDCC/43/10.
219. CM II, p.86.
220. Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.16. The document is dated Christmas 1278.
221. See p.231.
222. See pp.252-3.
223. CM I, p.90.
224. Darby and Maxwell, DGNE, p.186, fig. 46; cf figs. 11,28. For a contrary view see Siddle, "The Rural Economy of Medieval Holderness", Econ. Hist. R. XV (1967), pp.40-5.
225. CM I, p.233.
226. PR 4 John, p.64.
227. Hay, Brid. Charty, p.312 and YM Fasti I, p.56; corn, BL Lansdowne Ch.546, CRR XII, No.1073, PRO Assize R. 1045, m.51, R. Litt. Cl. I, p.144.
228. PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/6; many more accounts survive from post 1260, and confirm that the crops grown remained unchanged.
229. Leeds, YAS MD 59(3).
230. Smith, Place-Names of the ER, pp.72,321.
231. Frost, Notices of Hull, pp.7-9; CM I, pp.163,168,101,103,176,163,306.
232. CM I, p.95.
233. CM I, p.233.
234. CM I, p.219; II, p.85.
235. Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654.
236. EYC III, No.1308.
237. BL Add. MS 26736, f.90.
238. Cunningham, Growth of English Industry and Commerce I, Appendix. Greenfield's Reg. III, pp.134-5. A sack of wool contained 28-30 stones, at a stone of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  lbs: Oschinsky, Walter of Henley, pp.272-3.
239. Waites, Moorland and Vale-land farming in N-E Yorkshire, pp.32-3.
240. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.55. More details of the wool trade in Holderness are given by Denholm-Young, relating to the post-1260 period.
241. Yorks. Fines 1218-31, p.45; CM I, p.430.
242. YM Fasti I, p.56; BL Add. MS 26736, f.52d; Gray's Reg. pp.8,118.

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243. See pp.241-2.
244. EYC III No.1308.
245. EYC III No.1310.
246. EYC III No.1401.
247. EYC III No.1304; BL Add. MS 26736, f.52d; Cal. Inq. Misc. I, No.1734; CM II, p.65. Cheese was made from sheep's milk as well as cows'; Oschinsky, Walter of Henley, pp.288-9, 428-9.
248. CM II, p.64.
249. YI I, p.269.
250. EYC III No.1308.
251. EYC III No.1304.
252. D. & C. York QQ 44, p.7; CM II, p.215.
253. Leeds, YAS MD 59(3).
254. CM II, p.5.
255. CM I, p.365.
256. CM I, p.230.
257. Sutton, CM II, p.10; Bransholme, Yorks. Fines 1232-46, p.43; Eske, D. & C. York, QQ 44; Leven, Bodleian Dods. MS 7, ff.256d, 258d; Arnold, Bradford, Spencer Stanhope Nos. 1,2; Meaux, CM I, p.355; Routh, CM I, p.365; Wawne, CM II, p.5; Tunstall, Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654; Winkton, Brid. Charty, p.301.
258. CM I, p.356.
259. CM I, p.358.
260. CM II, p.37.
261. DB, ff.324, 324b.
262. EYC III No.1331.
263. EYC III No.1337.
264. Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.257d.
265. Bodleian Dods. MS 7, ff.254d, 257.
266. Around Routh, Meaux and Wawne, PRO Assize R. 1042, m.13, Yorks. Fines 1218-31, p.154, PRO Assize R. 1046, m.62, Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.236, Rot. Chart. p.145, Cal. Ch.R. I, p.233; at Arnold, PRO Assize R. 1042, m.13; at Ellerby, BL Add. MS 26736, f.89d; at Etherdwick, Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654; at Sproatley, Bodleian Dods. MS 117 and Yorks. Fines John, pp.165-6.
267. CM II, p.75; III, pp.106, 149, 244.
268. Frost, Notices of Hull, pp.7-9; CM I, p.168.

269. Siddle, "The Rural Economy of Medieval Holderness", Econ. Hist. R. XV (1967), pp.40-5.
270. The main authorities, in addition to those quoted in note 11 above, are Dugdale, History of Imbanking and Draining (1772); Poulson, Holderness I, pp.116-40 (taken from Dugdale); J. Sheppard, "The Hull Valley", Geographical Studies V (1958); J. Sheppard, "The Medieval Meres of Holderness", Trans. and Papers of the Institute of British Geographers XXIII (1957), pp.75-85.
271. The "holmes" are exemplified in 12th-century grants to the canons of Bridlington of Hallytreeholme, Thornholme, Brackenhholme, Nepeholme and Hempholme (all in Leven), differentiated from marshland granted to Bridlington at the same time. Hempholme, Hallytreeholme and Heigholme stand up above the low-lying lands: the other "holmes" are now lost. None of these places occurs in Domesday Book. Smith, Place-Names of the ER, p.325; EYC III No.1410; Brid. Charty, p.305. See also contour map of Holderness in Darby and Maxwell, DGNE, p.173 (fig.43) and J. Sheppard, "A Danish River-Diversion", YAJ XXXIX (1956), pp.63-4.
272. J. Sheppard, The Draining of South Holderness, pp.3-5; The Draining of the Hull Valley; Harris, Rural Landscape of the East Riding, p.48, fig. 15. All three works have maps showing the area of marsh, probable course of the streams, and the last has a map of the approximate 12th-century coastline showing settlements now lost.
273. EYC I No.8.
274. J. Sheppard, The Draining of South Holderness, p.5.
275. BL Add. MS 26736, f.80.
276. BL Add. MS 26736, f.77d.
277. Dugdale, History of Imbanking and Draining, p.132; Poulson, Holderness I, pp.119-32.
278. CM III, pp.102-3.
279. Boyle, Lost Towns of the Humber, prints a frontispiece showing the supposed sites; T. Sheppard, Lost Towns of the Yorkshire Coast; J. Sheppard, The Draining of South Holderness, pp.5-6; de Boer, History of Spurn Lighthouses, p.19.
280. CM I, pp.87-8; II, p.91.
281. Boyle, Lost Towns of the Humber, pp.66-76; CM, passim.
282. J. Sheppard, "A Danish River-Diversion", YAJ XXXIX(1956), pp.58-66.

283. EYC III Nos.1331,1334,1335.
284. Platt, The Monastic Grange in Medieval England, p.73.
285. BL Add. MS 26736, p.90.
286. Gray's Reg. p.238; Frismarsh is a lost village.
287. Gray's Reg. p.118.
288. HUL, DDCC/88/1.
289. CM I, p.424.
290. BL Add. MS 26736, f.89d.
291. CM I, p.413.
292. HMC Hastings I, p.165; CM I, p.410.
293. CM II, p.93.
294. HUL, DDCC/43/10 and DDCC app. C 16(c), both agreements relating to Halsham, dated 1240 and c.1250.
295. CM I, p.169: Laymen built dykes to "dry out the marshes of Cottingham". Recognition of the draining function is also recorded in CM I, p.411 and II, p.37.
296. HMC Hastings I, p.165, dated between 1210 and 1220. Also CM I, pp.410-11.
297. CM I, p.160.
298. CM I, pp.354-5.
299. CM II, p.37.
300. CM II, p.42.
301. YD I, p.77; Brid. Charty, p.305.
302. CM I, p.365.
303. J. Sheppard, The Draining of the Hull Valley, p.4. and see p.263 and Appendix E.
304. J. Sheppard, The Draining of the Hull Valley.
305. CM I, pp.304-5, 354-5, 410.
306. CM I, p.410.
307. The coastline along the Humber has altered so often that it is difficult to recognise which of the vills were once ports: the earliest map of Holderness, c.1560 (BL Royal MS 18 D III) shows many vills on the coast which are now inland. For the date of the map see de Boer and Skelton, "The earliest English chart with soundings", Imago Mundi XXIII, pp.9-16. Another plan of the Humber in the BL, temp. Henry VIII, shows Patrington Haven clearly. Both these maps are illustrated in T. Sheppard, Lost Towns of the Yorkshire Coast, pp.209,217.
308. See p.275.
309. EYC II No.810; CM I, p.310.



310. Poulson, Holderness I, p.120.
311. CM I, pp.77,79,80.
312. CM I, p.79.
313. PRO, Assize R. 1042, m.15, where in a case of 1230-1 the dyke was said to have been dug 80 years before: at Langthorpe the Lambwath leaves the parish boundary for no very clear reason, and this may be due to an "improvement" in the water course.
314. PRO, Assize R. 1042, mm.15,16.
315. CM I, p.328.
316. "Scurth" means a fen drain, a syke, and is related to Old Scandinavian words for a cutting or canal: Smith, Place-Names of the ER, p.10.
317. Poulson, Holderness I, pp.119-32; Boyle, Hedon, pp.3-6, 74-5. Scurth Byke, Parkdyke and Ranehokedyke are not shown on the inclosure maps of Burstwick: the remains of Scurth dyke, entering the Hedon haven from the east, are shown on the map in Boyle's Hedon (endpaper). After 1392 a jury presented that Scurth dyke was inoperative: "from Burstwick Hall bridge to Hedon and thence to the Humber [the Scurth dyke] whereby from time immemorial boats laden with merchandize passed from the high sea to the Humber, thence to Hedon and thence to York and Beverley ... has become dry for lack of repair and cleaning and because it has been stopped up." Public Works in Medieval Law, pp.356-8.
318. PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/8, m.5.
319. PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/7.
320. CM II, pp.65,75.
321. PRO, Assize R. 1045, m.52.
322. HUL, DDCC/43/10; BL Add MS 26736, f.89d. The dyke at Halsham was made in 1240.
323. Poulson, Holderness I, pp.127-8.
324. Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.85.
325. BL Add. MS 26736, f.77d. For the officials, see pp.75-127.
326. CM I, p.355.
327. BL Add. MS 26736, f.77d.
328. YD I, p.77.
329. HMC Hastings I, pp.161-2; Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.55.
330. Brid. Charty, pp.305-6.

331. Brid. Charty, p.305.
332. CM I, p.356.
333. See pp.258,259.
334. CM I, p.160. For the dykes of Holderness see also below, Appendix E.
335. At one time the Lambwath marked the boundary of the middle and south hundreds right through the grounds of the abbey of Meaux, but it now flows to the south and east of the abbey site: CM II, p.83n.
336. The route is described in the 1367 surveys, Poulson, Holderness I, pp.119-32, and shown in J. Sheppard, "The Medieval Meres of Holderness", Trans. and Papers of the Institute of British Geographers XXIII (1957), p.83, fig. 6. For the dykes of Holderness see also below, Appendix E.
337. CM I, pp.354,410-12; HMC Hastings I, p.165.
338. Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654; CM I, pp.305,424; II, p.93; Brid. Charty, p.306.
339. CM I, p.79.
340. CM I, pp.305, 410-11.
341. CM II, p.211.
342. J.Sheppard, The Draining of the Hull Valley, p.10.
343. CM I, pp.165,222,224,317,411,419; II, pp.24,33,42,47,49,81,82.
344. DB, f.423.
345. EYC III Nos. 1399,1400,1366,1308.
346. Yorks. Fines John, pp.100-1; HMC Hastings I, p.170; PRO, Assize R. 1045, m.46; Yorks. Fines 1232-46, p.43; YD VIII, p.4; BL Add. MS 26736, f.52d; CRR XI, No.1318.
347. CRR XI, No.1318.
348. EYC III, No.1399.
349. This is the system which works a tide mill, of which there is one surviving example in England, at Woodbridge in Suffolk.
350. CM II, pp.83-5.
351. For the history of watermills in the East Riding, see Allison, East Riding Water-Mills.
352. CM I, p.434.
353. See p.272.
354. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", YAJ XXXI (1934), p.39.
355. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
356. DB, ff.304,306b,322b; Brooks, DB and the ER, p.36; Fisheries are recorded for 1086 in 10 places in the East Riding, in Beverley, Asselby, Thorganby, Cottingham, Pillwoods, Leconfield, Sutton upon Derwent, Wheldrake, Elvington and North Frodingham: Darby and Maxwell, DGNE pp.210-11 and fig. 52.

357. DB, f.324.
358. CM II, p.3.
359. Reid, The Geology of Holderness, pp.78-88; J. Sheppard, "The Medieval Meres of Holderness", Trans. and Papers of the Institute of British Geographers XXIII (1957), pp.75-85; Siddle, "The Rural Economy of Medieval Holderness", Econ. Hist. R. XV (1967), pp.40-5.
360. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730. The "sea" ending, OE sæ, means a pool or lake. All these meres have now disappeared, although Withow Hole and Withernsea mere are marked on the 1st Ordnance Survey map of 1851-2.
361. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", YAJ XXXXI (1934), p.391.
362. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", YAJ XXXXI (1934), p.405.
363. PRO, Assize R. 1043, m.5d.
364. PRO, Assize R. 1042, mm.15,16.
365. Cal. Pat. R. 1266-72, p.478; Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", YAJ XXXI (1934), p.416.
366. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
367. CM II, p.6.
368. Yorks. Fines John, pp.165-6.
369. Yorks. Fines 1232-46, p.43.
370. For Hornsea, Wassand and Seaton meres see T. Sheppard, Lost Towns of the Yorkshire Coast; Steers, The Sea Coast, p.24; Reid, The Geology of Holderness, pp.79-80. Hornsea mere once had an eastward extension, lost to the sea (which at Hornsea encroaches on the land by about 7 feet a year, except where there are strong coastal defences).
371. PRO, Assize R. 1046, m.67d; Yorks. Assize Rolls, p.74; Yorks. Fines 1246-72, p.96; CM I, pp.308n,369.
372. CM I, pp.308n, 369.
373. EYC III, No.1301.
374. EYC III, No.1301.
375. EYC III, No.1302.
376. Yorks. Fines John, pp.146-7.
377. Manchester, John Rylands Latin MS 221, ff.270d-271, 311, Wassand and Hornsea meres, mid 13th cent.; do., ff.271d, 344d, Spineto family, Hornsea and Hornsea Burton meres, late 13th cent.; do., f.311 and original charter printed in Drake, Eboracum, p.606, Hatfield family, Wassand, Seaton, Hornsea and Hornsea Burton meres, 1244-58; do., f.311 Lascelles family, Wassand and Seaton meres, c.1254; do., f.343, Ros agreement of 1280 over Wassand, Hornsea and Hornsea Burton meres.
378. CM II, pp.97-102; PRO, Assize R. 1046, m.67d. Yorks. Fines 1246-72, p.96.

- 378 cont'd The use of seven champions is curious, and does not seem to be recorded elsewhere. This duel is not mentioned by Neilson, Trial by Combat.
379. Drake, Eboracum, p.606, a quitclaim whereby Stephen de Hatfield gave up any right to fish in these or any other ways.
380. T. Sheppard, Hull and the Fishing Industry.
381. Poulson, Holderness I, p.322.
382. CM I, pp.304-5,405.
383. CM I, pp.99-100.
384. CM I, p.375; II, p.110; now called the Driffild beck, a famous trout stream.
385. CM I, p.410; II, p.211.
386. CM I, pp.305,311,354,360,365,405; HMC Hastings I, pp.165,166-8.
387. CM I, pp.304-5.
388. CM I, pp.168,405; Frost, Notices of Hull, pp.7-9.
389. Brid. Charty, p.305; YD I, p.77, cf EYC III No.1410.
390. YD I, p.77.
391. Brid. Charty, p.305.
392. Brid. Charty, p.326.
393. EYC III No.1299.
394. BL Add. MS 26736, f.52d.
395. BL Add. MS 26736, f.53. A detailed description of similar river fisheries in the River Tees in 1229 is in Yorks. Fines 1218-31, pp.122-3.
396. PRO, Assize R. 1045, mm.34d,47.
397. BL Add. MS 26736, f.89d.
398. ERAST XVIII, pp.105-6.
399. CM I, p.405.
400. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730; inaccurate copy in YI I, p.78. The "fishery of Eumerske" of YI I, p.78, is a pasture, not a fishery.
401. EYC III No.1356.
402. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
403. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
404. See p.104.
405. Brid. Charty, p.302.
406. Beresford and Finsberg, English Medieval Boroughs, p.186.



407. Many historians have written of Ravenser Odd, among them Boyle, Lost Towns of the Humber, who prints many of the documents in full: T. Sheppard, Lost Towns of the Yorkshire Coast; de Boer, A History of the Spurn Lighthouses; de Boer, "Spurn Head: its Evolution and History", Trans. and Papers of the Institute of British Geographers XXXIV (1964), pp.71-87; de Boer, "Accretion and Reclamation in the River Humber", East Yorkshire Field Studies III (1970), pp.15-29; J. Sheppard, Draining of South Holderness, p.6; Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", YAJ XXXI (1934), pp.403-5. See also Cal. Inq. Misc. I, No.1512; YI I, p.216; Rot. Hund. I, pp.264,292, 380,402; CM II, pp.29-30; III, pp.16,79,121-2. Street names of Ravenser c.1300 are recorded in HUL DCC/2.
408. Cal. Inq. Misc. I, No.1512.
409. CM II, pp.29-30. This gift is entered in CM between 1235 and 1249. As William de Forz III became count only in 1241, the date of the gift must be 1241-9. It does not seem to be entered in the Meaux cartulary, BL Lansdowne MS 424.
410. Rot. Hund. I, p.107; Cal. Inq. Misc. I, No.1512.
411. Rot. Hund. I, p.107; Cal. Inq. Misc. I, No.1512.
412. Close Rolls 1261-4, pp.107-8.
413. Beresford and Finsberg, English Medieval Boroughs, p.186.
414. Boyle, Lost Towns of the Humber, pp.38-9.
415. CM III, pp.120-1.
416. Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57, p.353; Boyle, Lost Towns of the Humber, p.12.
417. CM II, pp.29-30.
418. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", YAJ XXXI (1934), p.404.
419. Boyle, Lost Towns of the Humber, pp.16,17.
420. PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/7.
421. Boyle, Lost Towns of the Humber, p.54.
422. PRO, JUST.1/1110 No.148; HUL, DCC 2/22.
423. See p.147 and n.129 to chapter 3.
424. Both are in PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730. Lower valuation: farm of the town 52s., mill 24s., tan house 13s. 4d., toll with perquisites of the court 40s. Higher valuation: assize rents 65s., windmill 46s. 8d., market toll 67s. 8d., toll of the fair 76s. 9d., pasture 12d., tannery 33s. 4d., fines and perquisites of court £14 19s.
425. The principal histories of Hedon are Boyle, History of Hedon; Park, The history of the ancient borough of Hedon; Craven, A History of the borough of Hedon.

426. See for instance Lord Burleigh's map, BL Royal MS 18 D III.
427. EYC III No.1304.
428. BL Add. MS 26736, f.52d. "Pottercroft in Magdalaynwaye" is mentioned in the 15th century: Boyle, Hedon, p.200 and n.
429. EYC III No.1309.
430. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
431. PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/7.
432. The count's ferry at Paull is well documented. Apart from the references above, c.1150-60 the count of Arnale gave Meaux abbey free passage at Paull (CM I, p.208). In 1200 the count was involved in a law suit over the haven (Rot. Curia Regis II, p.163). In 1219 the ferrymen of Paull accounted for a 2 m. fine for their "bad customs" (PRO Pipe R. 3 Henry III R.16 m.2), probably making excessive charges, of which they were also accused in 1230-1 and 1275-6 (PRO, Assize R. 1043, m.6d and Rot. Hund. I, p.133b). The jurors in 1230-1 thought the fare of 2d. and 3d. for a man and his horse excessive. The monopoly of the ferry service was farmed out by the counts: in the time of Henry II, William de Ottringham had half rights in the ferry, which was inherited by his nephew William de Lascelles, but subsequently given up to the Blaungy family in the 1220s (CRR XI, No.2765; Yorks. Fines 1218-31, p.97). In 1230-1 the ferry was divided between William de Blaungy, who leased his part from the count of Arnale, and Simon Gumbald, who had his part from the abbot of Thornton (PRO Assize R. 1043, m.6d). Some of the later history of the ferry is given in Poulson, Holderness II, pp.481-2, from which it appears that in the 14th century the landing place in Lindsey was at Skitter. The farm of the ferry in 1260 was valued at 4s. 10d. and Paull Fleet with the passage of the Humber was worth 112s. 1d. (PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730).
433. EYC III No.1304.
434. EYC III No.1314.
435. Beresford, History on the Ground, pp.132-5.
436. See p.261.
437. EYC III No.1313. This hospital is also sometimes called St Peter's, because it was attached to St Peter's church (the minster) in York.

438. EYC III No.1314. The hospital claimed thraves of corn from every plough in Yorkshire: EYC I No.166.
439. The origin of the name Hedon has been long debated, and many suggestions have been offered to explain it. Smith, Place-Names of the ER, p.39, suggests "The first element is probable hæc , 'uncultivated land' which can result, when shortened, in Had- and Hed-." It is possible, even likely, that the new town was built on uncultivated land; but if this derivation of Hedon is correct, then the river must have been named after the town, and not vice versa. As the river is called "flumen de Heldona" in 1115 (EYC III No.1304), this would suggest that there was a settlement on the river by 1115.
- Another possibility is that the name was brought from Normandy by the counts of Aumale. Between about 1090 and 1096 the canons of the church of St Martin Aumale made a record of their possessions in Normandy, and included in the list of places the church and tithes of Hedonisilva (Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I, No. 1.) The document is dated c.1090 on paleographical grounds, and before 1096 when the canons were replaced by regular monks from St Lucian Beauvais. I have not been able to identify the place Hedonisilva, but in the context it is not in but outside Aumale. The inventory is illustrated, plate 14, and Hedonisilva occurs in the 28th line.
440. Boyle, Hedon, pp.3-7; Beresford, History on the Ground, p.140. Yorkshire country parish boundaries, except in the huge moorland parishes, are not difficult to trace, as they almost invariably follow some natural feature, a stream, river or old road.
441. Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654; Boyle, Hedon, p.167.
442. Boyle, Hedon, facing p.197; see also aerial photograph in Beresford and St Joseph, Medieval England, p.201.
443. HUL, DDCC/45/37.
444. Lambert, A History of the Commissioners of Hedon Haven 1774-1974; this difference in heights of the two banks can be seen in Boyle's illustration of "The Western Haven", in Hedon, facing p.68.
445. See p.273.

446. For instance at Harewood in the West Riding, where the regular pattern of part of the village which surrounded the market house is shown on a map of c.1698, and therefore is not, as is generally thought, the result of late 18th-century landscaping. Map at Leeds City archives department, Harewood MSS.
447. EYC III No.1307; for the history of the three churches, see Boyle, Hedon, pp.89-155.
448. Jones, "Hedon near Hull - a new Norman Mint", British Numismatic Journal XXVI (1949), pp.28-30; Mack, "Stephen and the Anarchy", British Numismatic Journal XXXV (1966), pp.38-112. The Hedon coin is illustrated in Whitting, Coins, Tokens and Medals of the East Riding, plate I. The enfeoffment of Thomas son of Ulviet is printed in YAJ XXXIX, pp.339-42. Jones, art. cit., suggests that Gerard of Hedon may be the same as Gerard the coiner of Grimsby, who occurs in the pipe roll of 3 Henry II (PR 3 Henry II, p.83). He also suggests that Gerard may be the chamberlain of William de Forz I, count of Aumale, who, according to Poulson (Holderness I, p.207) was granted land in Barmston in Holderness between 1190 and 1195. But the grant to Gerard the chamberlain was really made by William de Forz III (1241-60: EYC VII No.41) and therefore Gerard the chamberlain could not be the coiner of the mid 12th century.
449. YI I, p.269.
450. PR 4 John, p.65; Boyle, Hedon, pp.xiv,xvi,xvii,xix,xxi,xxiii.
451. PRO, Assize R. 1047, m.12d; Assize R. 1043, m.6d; BL Lansdowne MS 424, f.122d; BL Add. Ch. 24189.
452. Smith, Place-Names of the ER, p.41. Meaux abbey was a place where decorative tiles were made, but it is not known whether they were for use in the abbey only, or whether they were sold elsewhere. Eames, "A Thirteenth-Century Tile Kiln Site at North Grange, Meaux", Medieval Archaeology V (1961), pp.137-68; Beaulah, "Paving tiles from Meaux abbey", ERAST XXVI (1929), pp.116-36.
453. EYC III Nos. 1304, 1313,1314.
454. No. 181 on Iveson's plan and survey of Hedon, 1804. See also Boyle, Hedon, p.208n,211n.
455. Bodleian Rawl. B 455, f.184; Cal. Ch. R. II, p.440.



456. EYC III Nos.1308,1312; Brid. Charty, pp.310-11; Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654; Mon. Ang. IV, p.185; CM I, p.360; Burton, Monasticon Eboracense, p.253; BL Harl. Ch. 54 F 36.
457. Gray's Reg. pp.22,29.
458. EYC III No.1307.
459. Henry II's charter is contained in the earliest Hedon Court Book, Humberside GRO DDHE/21 Section A f.11. and printed by Boyle, Hedon, appendix EE, pp.clxxxvii-clxxxviii.
460. PRO, Assize R. 1109, m.1d.
461. Boyle, Lost Towns of the Humber, pp.50-3.
462. For examples in borough charters of this, see Ballard, British Borough Charters 1042-1216, pp.103-5 and Ballard and Tait, British Borough Charters 1216-1307, pp.136-7. Some towns had limitations to this right, for instance at Lincoln it was necessary to show that there was a claimant living in England, who did not seek his villein, and for the villein to pay the customs of the city; and in many towns, including Hedon, the king's own villeins could not become free in this way. But the rule is given without limitations by Woodbine (ed.), Glanville, De Legibus V 5.
463. Ballard and Tait, British Borough Charters 1216-1307, p.142.
464. BL Add. MS 26736, f.82d.
465. CM I, p.86.
466. EYC III p.112.
467. EYC III No.1404.
468. HMC Hastings I, p.160; PRO Assize R. 1046, m.64; Assize R. 1042, m.15.
469. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.48 n3.
470. Four women burgesses were taxed in 1297, Boyle, Hedon, pp.40-1. See Bateson, "The Laws of Breteuil", EHR XVI, pp.341-2; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, p.672.
471. See below, note 481.
472. Boyle, Hedon, pp.40-1.
473. Boyle, Hedon, Appendix C; Farrer, EYC III No.1316. Boyle takes his text from the charter roll of 2 Henry V and Farrer from the patent roll of 1 Henry IV. There are no significant differences. Farrer dates the charter 1167-70, but gives no reason for this date. Delisle prints the charter in Receuil des actes de Henry II, I No.CCCXXXIV and dates it 1156-1172/3; and prints it again in the supplement to Vol. II, where he copies Farrer's dates. In the absence of any evidence to support Farrer, it seems wiser to assign the charter to 1150-1172/3.

- 474. Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law I, p.634.
- 475. PRO, Assize R. 1109, m.1d. Earlier eyres at Hedon do not record the number of jurors.
- 476. Boyle, Hedon, Appendix H.
- 477. Rot. Chart. p.99. In the first year of John's reign payments for borough charters ranged from 3,000 m.(London) to 40 m. (Scarborough). The amount paid was not however directly related to the wealth of the borough, because Beverley paid 500 m. and York only 50m; Ballard, British Borough Charters 1042-1216, p.lxxxiv.
- 478. Humberside CRO, Hedon borough records, original charter. Facsimile in Boyle, Hedon, pp.iv-v.
- 479. Bateson, "The Laws of Breteuil", EHR XV and XVI.
- 480. Boyle, Hedon, p.45 and Appendix M.
- 481. The 1348 charter is summarised in Cal. Ch. R. V, pp.87-9; Boyle, Hedon, pp.45-54 and Appendix N.
- 482. Ballard, British Borough Charters 1042-1216, pp.lxxiii-lxxxv.
- 483. HUL, DDCC/45/1.
- 484. BL Add. MS 26736, f.70d, two charters of the counts of Aumale.
- 485. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730; Boyle, Hedon, pp.29,43.
- 486. EYC III Nos.1313,1314.
- 487. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
- 488. PRO, Pipe R. 10 HenryIII R.1,m.1d.
- 489. See p.66.
- 490. Rot. Litt. Cl. I, p.191.
- 491. EYC III Nos.1313,1314.
- 492. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
- 493. EYC III No.1308.
- 494. See p.155.
- 495. PRO, Rentals and Surveys 730.
- 496. Pat. R. 1216--25, p.102.
- 497. Boyle, Hedon, p.53 and Appendix N.
- 498. This continued until c.1280, when steps were taken to lease the whole borough at fee farm: Boyle, Hedon, pp.27-8; YI I, p.215.
- 499. HUL, DDCC/45/1; BL Add. MS 26736, f.70d, charter of Count Baldwin and Countess Hawisa, 1195-1212, referring to quarterly collection; BL Add. MS 26736, f.70d, charter of Count William de Forz II, 1214-31, referring to twice-yearly collection. In the late 13th century the farm was collected quarterly (BL Add. MS 26736, f.77d and Landsdowne MS 424, f.122d).

Land and People

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500. PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/7.

501. YI I, p.215.

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1. EYC III No.1301.
2. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime, I H 1 No.2.
3. EYC I No.354.
4. EYC II No.1144. For the Ros family and the Espec inheritance, see Complete Peerage, under Ros of Helmsley; Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, p.78.
5. PR 31 Henry I, p.32.
6. YAJ XXIX, p.396; EYC III No.1330.
7. Whitby Charty I, No.248; Rievaulx Charty, p.22.
8. YAJ XXXIX, p.342; EYC III No.1395.
9. EYC I, p.101.
10. EYC II Nos. 1144,1148; EYC III No.1367.
11. EYC III No. 1330 note.
12. YAJ XXXIX, p.341.
13. EYC III No. 1330.
14. Selby Coucher Book I, No.556. He does not appear to have been constable of Holderness, but possibly of Scarborough.
15. EYC I, p.284; PR 4 Henry II, p.146 etc.; the three charters of William le Gros are EYC III No.1380, YAJ XXXIX p.342 (c.1150), and Bodleian Dods. MS 100, f.85.
16. PR 9 Henry II, p.58; Complete Peerage, under Ros of Helmsley.
17. EYC III No.1352.
18. EYC III No.1379.
19. EYC III No.1367.
20. EYC III No.1366.
21. EYC III Nos,1309,1310.
22. Book of Seals Nos. 520,521; the same charters are printed EYC I No.808, are calendared in Brid. Charty pp.194,195 and occur in BL Add. MS 26736 f.71 and Bodleian Dods. MS 20 f.78d.
23. Charters of William le Gros: EYC III No.1308 (at Hedon), HUL DDCC/45/1, EYC III Nos 1373,1375,1379,1395 (at Barrow) and 1406. Charters of William de Mandeville: EYC I No.617 (at Westminster 1181), <sup>HMC</sup> Rutland IV, p.5 (Easter 1181), Guisborough Charty p.212, EYC III No.1311. The charter witnessed by William de Ottringham to St Bees might be of le Gros or de Mandeville, St Bees Reg. No.382.
24. PR 13 Henry II, p.91; PR 22 Henry II, p.109; PR 23 Henry II, p.78; PR 24 Henry II, p.70.



25. Bodleian Dods. MS 8 f.164.
26. Mon. Ang. V, p.677.
27. Stenton, Danelaw Documents, pp.lvi n.3, 21,34.
28. PR 27 Henry II, p.45.
29. PR 3 & 4 Richard I, p.23.
30. Rot. Curia Regis I, p.77.
31. EYC III No.1372; Brid. Charty, pp.327-8.
32. Rot. Obl. p.43.
33. CRR II, p.63; CRR XV, No.972; Yorks. Fines John, p.100.
34. See pp. 112-3.
35. Clay, "Notes on the early generations of the family of Constable of Halsham", YAJ XL,<sup>(1960)</sup> pp.197-204; Early Yorkshire Families, p.22.
36. EYC III No.1381.
37. PR 22 Henry II, p.109; EYC III No.1399.
38. CRR V, p.87; VI, pp.126,375,403; Yorks. Fines John, p.171.
39. The charters of William le Gros are: Semichon, Aumale I, pp.402-3, YAS MS 542 f.2, (two charters), EYC III Nos.1307 (at Aumale), 1308 (at Hedon), 1309,1320 (at Hornsea), 1400, 1406, HUL DDCC/45/1, Bodleian Dods. MS 7,f.40, Dods. MS 100 ff.84d,85 (at Driffild), Registrum Antiquissimum III, p.343, BL Harl. MS 3660 f.139v. The charters of William de Mandeville are EYC III Nos. 1310, 1311, Guisborough Charty II, p.212, HMC Rutland IV, p.5 (dated 1181).
40. Clay, "Notes on the early generations of the family of Constable of Halsham", YAJ XL,<sup>(1960)</sup> pp.197-204.
41. EYC III No.1364.
42. CM I, p.220.
43. Howden III, p.89; Benedict II, p.149. Cf Stenton, "Roger of Howden and Benedict", EHR LXVIII, pp.574-82.
44. EYC III Nos.1309, 1310.
45. Book of Seals Nos. 520,521; dates from Clay, "Notes on the early generations of the family of Constable of Halsham", YAJ XL (1960), pp.197-204.
46. HUL, DDCC/45/1.
47. EYC VII No.34.
48. EYC VII No.33, HMC Various II, p.11, from the original now at Leeds, YAS, Newburgh priory archives, unnumbered.
49. EYC VII, No.34.
50. CM I, pp.316-7.

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51. PRO List of Sheriffs.
52. EYC IX. No.38; PR 3 John, p.143.
53. EYC VII No.66.
54. HMC Various II, p.11, from Leeds, YAS, Newburgh priory archives, unnumbered.
55. CM II, p.110; Gray's Reg. p.235.
56. EYC VII No.45.
57. EYC III No.1311, HMC Rutland IV, p.5.
58. EYC VII No.35 and EYC XI No.244.
59. BL Add. MS 26736 f.70; Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.232d; EYC VII p.224.
60. EYC VII p.134.
61. EYC III No.1376, Bodleian Dods. MS 7, f.251d.
62. BL Add. MS 26736 f.70d; BL Add. Ch. 20559; BL Add. MS 26736 f.77d (c.1201); HUL DDCC/43/7.
63. CRR I, p.357. For Fulk de Oyry, see pp. 119-27.
64. Leeds, YAS, Farrer MS 24, f.94b,95, from the Nunkeeling register BL Cotton Otho C viii (which is damaged by fire).
65. Yorks. Fines 1232-46, p.137; Curia regis rolls of 1242 and 1243, quoted in Yorks. Fines 1232-46, p.137.
66. CM I, p.297.
67. Rot. Litt. Pat. p.116.
68. See note 65 above.
69. YM Fasti I, p.56.
70. For a much fuller account of Fulk de Oyry see pp.119-27.
71. Memoranda Roll 10 John, p.24.
72. CRR VI, p.284.
73. Rot. Litt. Cl. II, pp.4,15,19.
74. Complete Peerage X, p.367; Meyer, Guillaume le Maréchal, lines 14976-80.
75. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.67.
76. For Geoffrey, see HUL DDCC/43/5; for Stephen, see p. 334.
77. Bodleian, Rawl. MS B 455, f.185d; Gray's Reg. pp.102,201; Giffard's Reg. p.58; HMC Hastings I, p.163; YM Fasti I, p.15.
78. Registrum Antiquissimum VII, p.3. There is no mention of the Passemers among the charters of the Brittany family's English lands in EYC IV & V.
79. Lincs. Assize Rolls 1202-9, No.401.
80. BL Harl. Ch. 54 F 36.

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81. c.1201, c.1207 and before 1218, BL Add. MS 26736 ff.74d,77d,79(twice),90.
82. HMC Hastings I, p.165, for the date see CM I, p.410; BL Add. MS 26736 f.80d; EYC VII No.38 (1214-34); BL Harl. Ch. 50 D 39; BL Add. Ch. 24188.
83. BL Add. Ch. 20559.
84. Bodleian, Rawl. MS B 455 f.185.
85. CM I, p.360.
86. HMC Hastings I, p.165; CM I, p.415.
87. Bodleian, Dods. MS 32, f.68d.
88. BL Cotton Ch. X.13; St Bees Reg. Nos. 21,377.
89. CRRLXI No.2303.
90. St Bees Reg. Nos.273,337,378,380,391,392,xxxvii, app.xxiv.
91. EYC VII, pp.248-52; Yorks. Fines 1218-31, p.6n.
92. EYC VII Nos. 144, 158 and 101 n.
93. EYC VII No.174.
94. EYC VII No.93.
95. EYC VII, p.288 etc.
96. EYC VII p.250.
97. HUL DDCC/99/1; Bodleian, Rawl. MS B 455, f.184d.
98. PRO, Assize R. 1040, m.9d; EYC I, p.480; EYC IX No.78.
99. PRO, Assize R. 1042, mm. 2d, 15d.
100. Memoranda Roll 14 Henry III, p.19. The previous entry in the roll concerns a Robert medicus seneschallus, of Richard de Percy; it seems a mistake is likely to have occurred.
101. Guisborough Charty II, p.320.
102. Brid. Charty, p.325.
103. Brid. Charty, p.208; YAJ VI, p.58; CM I, p.310.
104. Brid. Charty, pp.163,314,325-6.
105. Poulson, Holderness I, p.226.
106. Leeds, archives department, Farrer MS 24 from BL Cotton Otto C viii, f.75; GRR XIII, p.299; CM I, p.359.
107. EYC VII Nos.40,41; Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.264; Cal. Ch. R. II, p.381.
108. EYC I No.599; Farrer's dates are incorrect. He was named as a knight in this list.
109. Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.250; Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.1.
110. PRO, Assize R. 1046, mm.46d,58,61d,63.
111. PRO, Assize R. 1045, m.51.
112. Final Concords Lincoln II, p.83.
113. PRO, Assize R. 1046, f.46d etc.

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114. Hall, Etton, p.8;
115. Poulson, Holderness II, p.195.
116. Cal. Ch. R. III, p.10; EYC VII No.42.
117. Bodleian, Dods. MS 7, f.236d.
118. Yorks. Fines 1246-72, p.4.
119. Monastic Notes, p.132, from curia regis rolls 44 Henry III.
120. CM II, p.52.
121. YD IX, p.174; Yorks. Fines 1246-72, pp.v-vi.
122. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, pp.75-85.
123. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime I H 1 No.1; Archaeologia XXVI, p.359.
124. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime I H 1 No.3; Gallia Christiana XI, p.20.
125. Rouen, archives of Seine-Maritime I H 1 No.5, second document.
126. c.1195-1214, BL Add. Ch. 20559 (witness to Countess Hawisa's charter).  
early 13th cent. BL Add. MS 26736 f.79 (witness).  
1203, Rot. Norm. I, pp.73,102.  
1212-1214, Book of Seals No.444 (witness to Countess Hawisa's charter).  
1214, Semichon, Aumale II, p.388 (witness at Aumale).  
1222,1223,1225, pleas over land in Skeffling, CRR X, p.295; XI, No.366;  
XII, No.666.
127. Douglas, William the Conqueror, p.92-4.
128. CRR X, p.295; XI, No.366.
129. Semichon, Aumale II, p.388.
130. Douglas, William the Conqueror, pp.296-8.
131. Book of Seals No.444.
132. E.g. EYC III Nos. 1304, 1326.
133. EYC III No.1379.
134. EYC III No.1368; for the date see Clay, YM Fasti I, p.22 (John treasurer of York).
135. EYC III No.1376. In BL Add. MS 26736 f.77d "clerico" has been altered to "vicecom".
136. BL Add. MS 26736 f.77d (1201), ff.74d,77 (1207), CRR VII, p.74 (1214) and BL Add. MS 26736 f.90 (1218).
137. Rannulf also witnesses:  
post 1180, EYC III No.1354 (Farrer's dates are wrong).  
c.1190-1230, HUL, DDCC/43/6, copy in BL Add. MS 26736 f.77.  
c.1190-1220, BL Add. MS 26736 f.82d.  
c.1190-1230, HUL, DDCC/40/1, copy in Bodleian, Dods. MS 100 f.79d.  
c.1190-1230 EYC III No.1365 (Farrer's dates are wrong) and also  
BL Add. MS 26736, f.72d, approx. same date, witnesses.



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- 1195-1212, Bodleian, Dods. MS 7 f.251d.  
 1195-1212, EYC III No.1376.  
 c.1201, BL Add. MS 26736 ff.77,77d,79,79d.  
 c.1210-20, BL Add. Ch. 5724.  
 1212-14, Book of Seals No.444.  
 1214-30, BL Harl. Ch. 50.D 39.  
 before 1222, HUL DDCC/103/2, copy in Bodleian, Dods. MS 20 f.80.
138. BL Add. MS 26736 f.82d
139. HUL DDCC/43/6, copy in BL Add. MS 26736 f.77.
140. HMC Hastings I, p.161 (twice); Bodleian, Dods. MS 94 f.94, MS 139 f.61d.
141. Leeds, YAS MS 321, unnumbered pages; Poulson, Holderness II, p.191.
142. Mon. Ang. VI ii, p.654.
143. PRO, Assize R. 1042, m.15d; Brid. Charty, p.59.
144. BL Add. MS 26736 f.82d.
145. Yorks. Fines John, p.57.
146. Brid. Charty, p.59.
147. Yorks. Fines 1218-31, p.87.
148. Brid. Charty, p.319.
149. PRO, Assize R. 1042 m.15d.
150. Gray's Reg. p.62.
151. CM II, pp.95-6.
152. BL Add. MS 26736 f.66d. This document may be approximately dated as the land mentioned in it as given to Meaux was given between 1235 and 1249; the widow of the donor was also suing Meaux in the same case: CM II, p.43.
153. PRO, Assize R. 1047 m.12. Hedon still has a Twyer Lane, Twyer's Footbridge, and in the 17th century Twyer's Cross was one of the five boundary marks of the town. Twyer, a name first found in the 12th century, is "Old French tuyere 'a blast-pipe for a furnace'", Smith, Place-Names of the ER, p.41.
154. PRO, KRM R. 73, m.21d.
155. HMC Hastings I, p.161 (twice).
156. BL Add. MS 26736 f.80d, two charters.
157. CRR XV No.1022E.
158. Cal. Fine R. I, p.492.
159. BL Add. MS 26736 f.80d; terminal date from the death of Fulk de Oyry, c.1221 from the mention of William Passemer, steward succeeding Fulk about this time.

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160. See p.326.
161. early 13th cent. BL Add. Ch. 5725.  
       early 13th cent. BL Add. Ch. 24188.  
       1214-30 Bodleian, Rawl. MS B 455 f.184.  
       1221-35, HMC Hastings I, p.165.  
       early 13th cent. HMC Hastings I, p.161, two deeds.  
       early 13th cent. Bodleian, Rawl. MS B 455 f.185.  
       c.1241-43 HMC Hastings I, p.163.  
       1241-60 Bodleian, Rawl. MS B 455 f.184.  
       1256 Poulson, Holderness II, p.195; this may be another, later,  
       Stephen Passemer.
162. BL Add. MS 26736 f.80d.
163. CM II, p.25. One Sir John Passemer, son of Stephen, occurs in the  
       13th century as a donor of land in Hedon to St James's chapel, Hedon;  
       Brid. Charty, p.310.
164. Rot. Litt. Cl. II pp.207,209.
165. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration p.32; EYC VII p.291.
166. EYC VII Nos.89,138,p.289.
167. EYC VII, p.289.
168. Gray's Reg. p.246.
169. PRO, Assize R. 1045 m.46.
170. PRO, Assize R. 1045 m.19.
171. EYC VII p.289.
172. Bodleian, Dods. MS 7 f.264.  
       Cal. Ch. R. II p.381 (together with Simon de Preston, bailiff of  
       Holderness)  
       original charter at Bradford, Spencer Stanhope No.1, copy in Bodleian  
       Dods. MS 7 f.250.  
       Bodleian Dods. MS 139 f.62.
173. EYC VII No.41. The date of this charter and the preceding charters  
       in note 172 is from the witness Henry le Moigne the steward, who was  
       dead in 1251.
174. CM III p.17.
175. PR 20 Henry II, p.49.
176. EYC VII No.40.
177. PRO, Assize R. 1045 m.52 and m.52d.
178. PRO, Assize R. 1045 m.53.

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179. EYC VII p.290.
180. BL Harl. Ch. 50 D 38, also printed in Book of Seals No.66.  
It seems probable that the date of this charter is 1251.
181. Poulson, Holderness II p.195.
182. Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300 p.440 (also Bodleian, Rawl. MS B 455 f.184) and  
Cal. Ch. R. 1300-26 p.10.
183. EYC VII pp.86,143.
184. Bodleian, Dods. MS 7 f.236d.
185. EYC VII p.291.
186. EYC VII p.291 note 1, Kirkby's Quest p.76.
187. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration p.48 note 3.
188. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration p.50, p.51 note 1.
189. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration pp.73-4.
190. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration p.47; "Yorkshire Estates", p.410.  
The occurrence of the title sheriff post 1260 is more common than  
he allows.
191. HUL, DDCC/43/18; BL Lansdowne MS 424 f.122d; Brid. Charty, p.302; Bodleian,  
Dods. MS 94 f.95d.
192. Yorks. Assize Rolls p.25; Pleas before the King or his Justices  
1198-1212, IV, p.95.
193. Bodleian, Rawl. MS B 455, f.185; BL Add. MS 26736, f.76d. Dates from  
the occurrence in the witness list of Fulk de Oyry the steward, for  
whom see above, pp.119-27.
194. See pp.326-7, 334.
195. EYC IX.
196. EYC IX p.30.
197. CRR XI, No.2303.
198. BL Add. MS 26736 f.90.
199. CRR XIII, No.2712.
200. PRO, Assize R. 1043, m.6.
201. PRO, Assize R. 1056, mm.32d,47,47d.
202. CRR XIII, No.2712.
203. Cal. Ch. R. II, p.381, dates from Henry le Moigne the steward.
204. PRO, Assize R. 1175, m.4.
205. CM II, p.105.
206. PRO, Assize R. 1046, m.50.
207. PRO, Assize 1047, m.12.

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208. PRO, Assize R. 1109, m.27.
209. HUL, DDCC Box 118.
210. See above, p. 326.
211. YI I, p.78.
212. EYC VII, No.139.
213. EYC VII, p.157.
214. PRO, Assize R. 1109 m.1d.
215. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.417; Seignorial Administration, p.69n.
216. PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/7, 1078/8 and 1118/16.
217. See below, Appendix C.
218. EYC VII p.290; PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/9 and 1118/16: 1078/8 m.6; 1078/11.
219. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.417.
220. Rot. Hund. I, p.133b; Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, p.218;  
Cal. of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews II (1273-7), p.313.
221. Cal. Fine R. I, p.299; Poulson, Holderness I, p.44.
222. PRO, Assize R. 1043 m.6.
223. PRO, Assize R. 1046 mm.46,50.
224. PRO, Assize R. 1109 m.27.
225. PRO, Assize R. 1109 m.26.
226. CM I, p.306; II, p.33.
227. CRR XI, No.2585.
228. Kirkby's Quest, p.371; HUL, DDCC/112/111. This document is post 1273, when Countess Aveline came of age, and before the end of 1275, when Robert Scures gave his land to Robert de Hildyard (daeds in HUL, DDRI).
229. Kirkby's Quest, p.75.
230. YD VIII, p.74.
231. Cal. Pat. R. 1266-72, p.296. In PRO, Min. Acc. 1078/11 (1268-9) Bernard accounted for the perquisites of the wapentake and Thomas de Lelley for the serjeanty.
232. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.418, where he is called bailiff of the wapentake court.
233. Denholm-Young, "Yorkshire Estates", p.417 n.3.
234. Poulson, Holderness I, p.158.
235. Archives of Seine-Maritime, I H I No.2.



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notes 236 - 247

## 236. Charters witnessed:-

c.1130-79 HUL DDCC/45/1 jointly with Walter.

1147-54 EYC III No.1306.c.1150-79 St Bees Reg. Nos.17,18,20.1160-70 EYC III No.1405 jointly with Walter.c.1160-78 EYC III No.1396.

1160-82 YAS MS 542 f.2.

1164-79 EYC III No.1375 (printed as Willelmo "Camio" in error).237. PR 12 Henry II p.42 and PR 22 Henry II p.114.

## 238. Charters witnessed:-

1150 EYC III No.1379 jointly with Benedict.c.1150 Registrum Antiquissimum III, p.343 jointly with Benedict.1150-60 EYC III No.1352.

c.1160 BL Harl. MS 3660 f.139d, jointly with Adam.

## 239. Charters witnessed:-

1150 EYC III No.1379 jointly with Terry.c.1150 Registrum Antiquissimum III, p.343 jointly with Terry.1150-60 EYC III No.1320 (at Hornsea).c.1150-70 EYC III No.1395.1164-66 Semichon, Aumale I, facing p.324 facsimile (at Aumale).1165-79 EYC III No.1400.

In addition:

1150-60 EYC III No.1315 grant by abbot of Meaux, jointly with Adam.240. CM I, p.88; EYC III No.1398.

## 241. Bodleian Dods. MS 139, f.48d; Spencer Stanhope MSS at Bradford No.74.

Many deeds relating to the Nuthill family from the 13th century on are among the Spencer Stanhope archives.

## 242. See note 239 above.

243. EYC III No.1312.

## 244. Charters witnessed:-

c.1160 BL Harl. MS 3660 f.139d, jointly with Terry.

1170-75 EYC III No.1308. Adam com' is a mistake for Adam cam'.

In addition: 1150-62 EYC III No.1315, grant by abbot of Meaux, jointly with Benedict.

1153-62 EYC III No.1368 grant by the treasurer of York.245. EYC III No.1312.246. EYC III No.1405; HUL DDCC/45/1. Enfeoffment is EYC III No.1311.247. Charters of Cecily, St Bees Reg. Nos. 27,225.

248. Kal. Inv. Exch. I, p.75.
249. EYC III No.1311.
250. EYC III No.1398.
251. CM I, p.57.
252. EYC VII No.34.
253. CRR VI, pp.256,262,284,295.
254. Cal. Cl. R. 1234-37, p.237.
255. Kirkby's Quest, p.376.
256. Charters witnessed:-
  - 1241-51 EYC VII, No.41.
  - 1241-60 Bodleian, Dods. MS 7 f.236d.
  - 1241-60 Cal. Ch. R. II, p.381.
  - 1241-60 EYC VII No.42.
  - 1241-60 Cal. Ch. R. III, p.10.
  - 1249-52 Fountains Charty. No.69.
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257. Bodleian, Dods. MS 94 f.94; Dods. MS 139 ff.48d,61d; Yorks. Fines 1231-46, p.101.
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262. 1241-51 EYC VII No.41.  
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267. Cal. of Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews I, pp.191-2.
268. YI I, pp.171,184-5.
269. YI I, p.153.
270. Kal. Inv. Exch. I, p.55.
271. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.18.
272. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration, p.18 adds "it cannot have ceased to exist" but gives no reason. It seems probable that in the hands of the crown the administration was altered.

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